

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1813.

ART. I.—*The First and Second Reports of the Committee of the Fish Association for the Benefit of the Community, respecting the Measures to be adopted for the Supply of the Metropolis and its Neighbourhood, 1813.*

An Account of a Supply of Fish for the manufacturing Poor; with Observations, by Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart. 1813.

A Dissertation on the Public Fisheries of Great Britain, explaining the Rise, Progress, and Art of the Dutch Fishery, &c. &c. By Henry Schultes. 1813.

THE coasts of Great Brittain doe yeeld such a continual sea-harvest of gaine and benefit to all those that with diligence doe labour in the same, that no time or season in the yeare passeth away without some apparent meanes of profitable imployment, especially to such as apply themselves to fishing, which, from the beginning of the yeare unto the latter end, continueth upon some part or other upon our coastes, and therein such infinite shoales and multitudes of fishes are offered to the takers, as may justly move admiration, not only to strangers but to those that daily bee employed amongst them.* Such was the observation of that 'learned knight,' Sir John Borroughs, in the year 1633, the truth of which is as indisputable now, as it was then. If, indeed, we except the agricultural improvement of a country, there is no other source of national wealth and strength more productive and permanent, than that of the fisheries, and more particularly, when the circumstances and situation of its coasts are favourable for the prosecution of them on a grand scale. The greater the extent of coast compared with the area of the land which it embraces, the nearer will the benefits derivable from the fisheries approach to those which are drawn from the soil. Our sea-girt islands are most happily situated in both respects. In addition to a highly productive soil, the seas which surround us afford an inexhaustible mine of wealth—a harvest, ripe for gathering at

* The Sovereignty of the British Seas proved by Records, History, and the Municipal Laws of this Kingdom, by that Learned Knight Sir John Borroughs, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, 1633.

every time of the year—without the labour of tillage, without the expense of seed or manure, without the payment of rent or taxes. Every acre of those seas is far more productive of wholesome, palatable, and nutritious food than the same quantity of the richest land; they are fields which, perpetually 'white to harvest,' require only the labourer's willing hand to reap that never failing crop which the bounty of Providence has kindly bestowed.

These islands are, indeed, favoured in a peculiar manner for carrying on the fisheries to the greatest possible extent. Not only the seas belonging to them, but all their numerous inlets, creeks, bays, and havens; the lochs, the lakes, and the rivers all swarm with esculent fish. They are blessed, moreover, with an abundant population to enjoy this plentiful harvest—they have capital to supply all the necessary means for collecting, preparing, and distributing this valuable article of human sustenance—they have the uncontrolled command of the sea, which not only secures their fishermen from the molestation of an enemy, but prevents the interference of a rival in the field. An increased and increasing population ensures a consumption at home; and mines of salt, as inexhaustible as the supply of fish, enable us to export with advantage the surplus produce to such foreign nations as afford, in return, those necessities and luxuries of life, that are not raised by ourselves.

But other considerations combine at this moment to excite us to a vigorous prosecution of the fisheries. Food of every description has risen to an extravagant and unprecedented price; butchers' meat, once in ordinary use, is now nearly beyond the reach of the great mass of the people; the labouring poor can scarcely hope to taste it; and as to *fish*, whether in the metropolis or the great inland towns of England, *that* may be considered as a prohibited article, even to the middling ranks in life. If then the seas which surround Great Britain and Ireland are, and nobody will deny that they are, capable of affording an inexhaustible supply of fish—if fishermen are able with all imaginable ease to take it in unlimited quantities—and if, notwithstanding, the supply is not equal to the demand, either in the home or the foreign market, there must be some defect or discouragement, or some want of systematic regulations, to withhold so important an article of food from the community at large. Highly, however, as we estimate the public advantages derivable from the fisheries, and they can scarcely be too highly estimated, we are not sanguine enough to join in the confident expectations of Mr. Schultes, that the 'establishment of a national fishery' (on his own plan of course) 'would extinguish the poor's rate, afford universal employment, prevent the necessity of naval impress, increase trade, diminish taxes, supply constant

and perpetual food, and augment the wealth of the nation annually twenty millions of pounds. But we willingly yield our assent to the more moderate expectations of the members who form the committee of the 'Fish Association,' that, by the removal of certain obstacles to a more general use of fish in this country, sustenance may be provided for a great additional population, employment afforded for a numerous class of courageous and adventurous individuals, provision made for unfailing nurseries of seamen for our navy; and a considerable increase to the trade of the United Kingdom.

That the mine we have to work upon is in reality inexhaustible, a transient inspection will be sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical inquirer. We now know that travellers do not exaggerate, when they tell us of swarms of locusts obscuring the light of the sun; of flights of white ants filling the whole horizon like a snow shower; of herds of antelopes scouring the plains in thousands; neither are fishermen disbelieved when they speak of shoals of herrings, occupying, in close array, many millions of acres near the surface of the sea; nor when they tell us that, on the coast of Norway, in passing through the narrow inlets, they move in such deep columns, that they are known by the name of *herring mountains*. The cod, hake, ling, mackerel, pilchard, and salmon, though not quite so numerous as the herring, are all of them gregarious, and probably migrating animals. In thus ordaining that the most numerous of the finny tribe should be those which afford the most wholesome food for man, we acknowledge the benevolent intentions of an all-wise and good Providence.

We are yet imperfectly acquainted with the natural history of the herring. Its winter habitation has generally been supposed within the arctic circle, under the vast fields of ice which float on the northern ocean, where it fattens on the swarms of shrimps and other marine insects which are said to be most abundant in those seas. On the return of the sun from the southern tropic towards the equator, the multitudinous host issues forth in numbers that exceed the power of imagination. Separating about Iceland into two grand divisions, the one proceeds to the westward, filling, in its progress, every bay and creek on the coast of America, from the Straits of Bellisle to Cape Hatteras; the other, proceeding easterly in a number of distinct columns of five or six miles in length, and three or four in breadth, till they reach the Shetland islands, which they generally do about the end of April, is there subdivided into a number of smaller columns, some of which taking the eastern coast of Great Britain, fill every creek and inlet in succession from the Orkneys down to the British Channel; and others, branching off to the westward, surround the coasts of the Hebrides, and pene-

trate into the numerous firths and lochs on the western shores of Scotland. Another shoal, pursuing the route to Ireland, separates on the north of that island into two divisions, one of which, passing down the Irish Channel, surrounds the Isle of Man, the other pours its vast multitudes into the bays and inlets of the western coast of Ireland. The whole of this grand *army*, which the word *herring* emphatically expresses, disappears, on the arrival of the several divisions on the southern coasts of England and Ireland, about the end of October, to which period, from its first appearance in April, it invites the attack of a variety of enemies, besides the fishermen, in every point of its route. In their own element the herrings furnish food for the whale, the shark, the grampus, the cod, and almost all the larger kind of fishes; and they are followed in the air by flocks of gulls, gannets, and other marine birds, which continually hover about them, and announce their approach to the expectant fisherman.

To keep up this abundant supply and to provide against all the drains which were intended to be made upon it, nature has bestowed on the herring a corresponding fecundity, the spawn of each female comprehending from thirty to forty thousand eggs. Whether these eggs are deposited in the soft and oozy banks of the deep sea, abounding with marine worms and insects and affording food for winter's consumption, or whether they lie within the arctic circle amidst unremitting frost and six months perpetual darkness, is yet a doubtful point; but the former will probably be considered as the less objectionable conjecture.

The esculent fish, next of importance to the herring in a national point of view, is the codfish, which is also considered among the number of those which migrate from the north, in a southerly direction, to nearly the same degree of latitude as the herring. But there is reason to believe that its constant residence is on the rough and stony banks of the deep sea, and that it is rarely found beyond the arctic circle, and there only sparingly and in the summer months. On the great bank of Newfoundland, on the coasts of Iceland, Norway, Shetland, and the Orkney islands, on the Well-bank, the Dogger-bank, the Broad Forties, on the northern, western, and southern coasts of Ireland, the cod is most abundant and of the best quality: in some or other of these situations the fisheries may be carried on with certain success and to great advantage from November to Midsummer. On the western coasts of Scotland and Ireland all the different species of the cod genus, usually known under the name of white fish, are plentifully dispersed. Every bank is, in fact, an inexhaustible fishery, for, with fewer enemies than the herring to prey upon it, the cod is at least a hundred times more productive. The fecundity of this fish,

fish, indeed, so far exceeds credibility, that had it not been ascertained by actual experiment, and on the best possible authority, it would have been considered as fabulous to assign to the female cod, from three to four millions of eggs.*

Not only the hake, sometimes known by the name of 'poor John,' but more commonly by that of stock-fish, and the ling, are to be reckoned among the valuable products of the British fisheries, especially as articles of foreign consumption, but we may also include the haddock, which is another species of cod, as equally important for the supply of the home market. Haddocks assemble in vast shoals during the winter months in every part of the northern ocean, and bend their course generally to the southward, proceeding beyond the limits of the cod and the herring; but it is remarked that they neither enter the Baltic nor the Mediterranean. The two dark spots a little behind its head, are supposed to have gained the haddock, in days of superstition, the credit of being the fish which St. Peter caught with the tribute money in its mouth, in proof of which the impression of the Saint's finger and thumb has been entailed on the whole race of haddocks ever since. Unfortunately, however, for the tradition, the haddock is not a Mediterranean fish, nor can we suppose it to have belonged to the lake of Tiberias. The truth is the Italians consider a very different fish as that which was sanctified by the Apostle, and which after him they honour with the name of *il janitore*, a name that we have converted into *Johnny Dory* with the same happy ingenuity that has twisted the *girasole* or turnsol into a *Jerusalem* artichoke.

Several other kinds of white fish, as turbot, plaice, sole, and whittings are plentifully dispersed over various parts of the British seas, so as to afford an ample supply for the home market, the whole year round, without the smallest danger of that supply being exhausted or diminished.

The mackerel fishery in the English Channel continues about four months in the year, commencing in April or May. This too is a fish of passage, but, contrary to the course of the herring, is supposed to visit the British seas in large shoals from the southward. The mackerel is chiefly caught for immediate consumption, but is sometimes pickled for winter use. Its fecundity is very great, each female depositing, at least, half a million of eggs.

The pilchard, like the herring, of which it is a species, is a fish of passage. It makes its appearance, in vast shoals, on the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall, and in the neighbourhood of the Scilly islands, from July to September. About the time that the pilchards are expected on the coast, a number of men called *huers*

* Philosophical Transactions, vol. 57, p. 230.

post themselves on the heights to look out for their approach, which is indicated by a change in the colour of the water. The boats in the mean while, with their nets prepared, are held in momentary readiness to push forth in the direction pointed out to them by the *huers*. On the coast of Cornwall alone, fifty or sixty thousand hogsheds of this fish are annually salted for foreign consumption.

But of all others the salmon may, perhaps, be considered as the king of fishes; and no part of Europe is more bountifully supplied with it than the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. At certain seasons of the year, whole shoals of this noble fish approach to the mouths of rivers, which they ascend to considerable distances, surmounting every obstacle in order to find a safe and convenient spot to deposit their spawn. From January to September they are in high season, but in some part or other of the coast are fit for use every month in the year. The salmon fishery is of great value, whether for home consumption or exportation. Prodigious quantities are consumed fresh in the London market, and in almost all the sea-port towns in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; but a far greater quantity is salted, dried, or pickled in vinegar. The lochs and friths of Scotland and Ireland are visited by salmon in such copious shoals that more than a thousand fish have sometimes been taken at a single draught. The two most productive fisheries are that of the Tweed near Berwick, and of the Bann near Coleraine; at the latter of which, Mr. Young says, 1450 salmon have been taken at one drag of a single net. The salmon also frequents the coasts of Norway and Iceland in the summer months in prodigious quantities. Hooker describes the salmon fishery in the river Lax Elbe on the latter island, where women, as well as men, took with their hands, in a few hours, 2200 salmon.*

The banks of the North sea, the rocky coasts of the Orkneys, and the eastern shores of Britain, afford, in abundance, two articles of luxury for the London market, though but sparingly drawn from those sources: we allude to the turbot and lobster. For a supply, however, of the former we have always had recourse to the Dutch, to whom we paid about £80,000 a-year; and for about a million of the latter, taken on the coast of Norway, the Danes drew from us about £15,000 a-year; for eels we gave the Dutch about £3000 a-year. These fisheries are calculated to give employment to not less than 10,000 seamen.

Even the oyster fishery supplies the market of the metropolis with an article of nutritious food for eight months in the year; and if cultivated with the same care in the neighbourhood of Chichester, Portsmouth, Southampton, Plymouth, the coasts of Wales,

* Journal of a Tour in Iceland, by W J. Hooker.

and among the Hebrides, as at Colchester, Milton, Feversham, &c., there is not a town in Great Britain which might not be as abundantly supplied with oysters as the London market.

Notwithstanding this never-failing harvest of food within our immediate reach, the neglect of the fisheries has never ceased to be a subject of unavailing complaint from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the present time. 'It maketh much to the ignominie and shame of our English nation,' (says the learned Keeper of the Tower Records, above quoted,) 'that God and nature, offering us so great a treasure, even at our own doores, wee doe, notwithstanding, neglect the benefit thereof, and by paying money to strangers for the fish of our own seas, impoverish ourselves to make them rich:' and he complains that Yarmouth which, from a bed of sand, had risen to an opulent town, solely by the fishery, with the Cinque ports and other towns and villages to the number of 225, were, in his time, 'decayed and reduced to extreame poverty,' whilst those of Holland and Zealand were flourishing from the riches collected on our own coasts, where not less than 400 of their vessels were constantly employed to supply England alone with fish caught on its own shores. As a contrast to our indolence or indifference, a lively picture is drawn of the bustle and activity which the Dutch herring buss fishery communicated to the various tradesmen and artisans, labourers, salters, packers, dressers, &c. and of the numbers of poor women and children to which it gave employment.* On the coasts of Holland and in its bays and inlets 3000 boats of various kinds were constantly occupied; on those of England and Scotland, in the cod and ling fishery only, they had 800 vessels, from 60 to 150 tons burden, fully employed; and each of these was attended by another vessel for supplying it with salt and carrying back the cured fish. From Bougoness to the mouth of the Thames, a fleet of 1600 busses were actively engaged in the herring fishery, to every one of which might be reckoned three others, some employed in importing foreign salt, some in conveying it to the fishing vessels, and others in carrying the cured fish to a foreign market. Thus the total number of shipping engaged in, and connected with, the herring fishery amounted to 6400 vessels, giving employment on the water alone, to 112,000 mariners and fishermen. At that time Holland could boast of 10,000 sail of shipping, and 168,000 mariners, 'although their country itselfe affords them neither materials or victuall or merchandize to be accounted of towards their setting forth.' It

* In a pamphlet entitled 'England's Path to Wealth and Honour, in a Dialogue between an Englishman and a Dutchman,' which abounds with information on the subject of the fisheries, the whole alphabet is employed, in regular order, to enumerate the various trades-people, artisans, &c. who subsist by the herring fishery.

had a navy which supported many a long and arduous contest with that of Great Britain for the dominion of the seas; and its commerce and colonies spread themselves over the most distant parts of the globe. Many fair and populous cities rose with prodigious rapidity from a few mud hovels scattered among the swamps and morasses at the mouths of the Rhine and the Waal. So universally indeed was it acknowledged that the strength, wealth and prosperity of the United Provinces were entirely owing to the herring fishery, that an observation was in common use among themselves, that Amsterdam had its foundation on herring bones.

But the best proofs from what channel the republic of the United Provinces derived its rapid flow of wealth and prosperity, may be collected from an estimate of the population of the States General, published in Holland in 1669, which stands as under:—

Persons employed as fishermen, and in equipping fishermen with their ships, boats, tackle, conveying of salt, &c.	450,000
Persons employed in the navigation of ships in the foreign trade, wholly independent of the trade connected with the fisheries.	250,000
Persons employed as manufacturers, shipwrights, handicraft trades, dealers in the said manufactures, &c.	650,000
Persons employed in agriculture, inland fishery, daily labour, &c.	200,000
Inhabitants of all descriptions employed in various concerns connected with domestic consumption and in general use.	650,000
Idle gentry without callings, statesmen, officers, usurers, soldiers, beggars, &c. who are supported by the labour and care of those above-mentioned.	200,000

Making a total of 2,400,000.

Of this aggregate population it will appear that eleven-twelfths were exercised in habits of industry; and that 700,000, or every third person nearly, was either a mariner, a fisherman, or one employed in the encouragement and increase of their marine and the fisheries. It was the boast of the pensionary De Witt that nearly one-fifth part of the population of the United Provinces earned their subsistence by the fisheries at sea, and it was his opinion that the trade of Holland could not be supported without them, but would decay with the decay of the herring fishery, which he considered as the right arm of the republic. The States General, indeed, made no secret of the grand source of their wealth and prosperity. In one of their ordinances, relating to the herring fishery, they set out by

by declaring, 'how well known it is that the great fishing and catching of herrings is the chiefest trade and principal gold mine of the United Provinces, whereby many thousands of households, families, handicraft trades and occupations are set on work, are well maintained, and prosper, &c.' The people of England were fully aware of the great advantages derived by the Dutch from a fishery carried on principally by the latter within the seas, and frequently close under the shores, of the former. Why this country, with an apparent indifference, suffered a nation which she had so recently raised out of its dykes and mud-banks to a state of independence, to erect, by rapid stages, a grand national superstructure on the basis of British produce and protection, till she became her most formidable rival on the ocean, is a subject that has often engaged the pen of the statesman; of such men as Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Monson, Sir William Petty, Sir Roger L'Estrange, and many other able and practical politicians. Neither has there been any want of efforts on the part of individuals, or of encouragement on that of government, (though the latter might not always have been properly directed,) to correct this extraordinary supineness. Liberal subscriptions have been set on foot, and vast sums of money contributed at various times for the establishment of fishing villages and the building and setting forth of ships and boats suitable for the purpose. Various acts of parliament have been passed from time to time for the encouragement of the fisheries and fishermen, conferring premiums, granting bounties, allowing exemptions from duties, and bestowing other indulgencies and privileges, protecting mariners, landmen, and apprentices engaged in the fisheries from the impress, and allowing every person, who should have followed the occupation of fisherman for seven successive years, being a married man, to set up and freely exercise any trade or profession in any town or place in Great Britain. In the midst of all these encouragements, however, we have not been quite consistent. The cod and turbot fisheries were chiefly carried on by the Dutch. There are two baits of which these fish are peculiarly fond, the lamprey and the whilk, neither of which the Dutch possess, but both of which were amply supplied to them by us. Nay, it appears on evidence before a committee of the House of Commons that our own fishing vessels have been frequently kept a fortnight or three weeks in the Thames for want of lampreys, while the Dutch were carrying them away by hundreds of thousands at a time.* But other unfavourable circumstances of greater weight than these caused the fisheries to languish in

* Report of the Committee for Fisheries, 1786.

England, in proportion as they flourished on the opposite side of the channel; and thus, as Mr. Schultes says,

"This country passively contributed to her rivals' aggrandizement; and at the very period, namely 1695, when the Dutch and her neighbours were enjoying all the advantage of affluence, power and dominion, deriving annually from the British Sea fishery the enormous sum of twenty millions of pounds, we began to borrow money for public expenditure, and incur the national debt, which gradually increased in the same proportion as their wealth and prosperity; and (painful to remark) it appeared by a tract published in 1653, wherein the writer refers to the testimony and asseverations of merchants in Amsterdam, that we purchased our own fish at the incredible sum of sixteen hundred thousand pounds annually."

It may be proper, before we endeavour to point out the remedy, to trace some of the main causes, which have operated in producing that fatal disease which has so long and so obstinately impeded the progress of Great Britain towards a successful establishment of the fisheries on all or any of the numerous situations, favourable for that purpose, on a line of sea coast, not less than 3000 miles in extent.

The occupation of a fisherman may be considered generally as the offspring of poverty; the dangers of the element on which he moves, the fatigues and hardships that he has to encounter, the disease and infirmity prematurely brought on by exposure to cold and wet, the uncertainty of a market for his fish, if successful, and the certainty of starving from a want of success, are the discouraging prospects which he who embarks in the trade has to contemplate; but as necessity is the parent of exertion as well as of invention, we do not find that a want of hands for the fisheries makes any part of the obstacles which have retarded their progress. It is pretty nearly the same with nations as with individuals; that country, which has but one of its sides abutting on the sea, must necessarily be poor before it consents to become a nation of fishermen. Thus the provinces of Holland and Zealand, whose cultivable land yielded not sufficient produce for the subsistence of one-eighth part of their inhabitants, were driven by necessity to seek for the remainder on the water. But England, which had twelve times the quantity of productive land for her population, felt not the same necessity of cultivating the sea to provide subsistence, though surrounded by that element on every side. Food was neither so dear nor so scarce, that men were driven to the necessity of encountering the perils and hardships of a boisterous element to

* Schultes's Dissertation, p. 5.

increase the quantity or reduce the price of the necessaries of life. The small portion of its inexhaustible stores that was drawn from its bosom was rather to supply an article of luxury for home consumption, than a merchantable commodity for the foreign market; and even that demand was scantily and precariously furnished. If the *catch*, as it is technically called, was too abundant, a great part of it was spoiled for want of a quick and certain market at hand, while the quantity itself lowered the price of those that were disposed of; if too scanty, the produce was not worth the expense of sending to a distant market, unless sold there at an exorbitant price. The uncertainty of the supply and the fluctuation of price were necessarily followed by an uncertainty in the demand; and such a state of the market being precisely suited for the establishment of a monopoly, a monopoly was accordingly established. For this purpose a narrow and confined spot of ground was set apart in the city of London, which absorbed the whole of the fish that came within the radius of its vortex, extending from Billingsgate, as its focal point, seven miles in every direction; and this little spot *virtually* monopolized all the best fish that were caught on the coast of the United Kingdom. This market is held as an exclusive privilege of the corporation of London by charter, 'which,' says Sir Thomas Bernard, 'in the greatest and most populous city in the world, restricts the sale of an essential article of life to a small and inconvenient market; and has exclusively placed the monopoly of fish in the hands of a few interested salesmen.'

'If the abuse (adds Sir T. Bernard) were limited to a mere enhancement of price upon those who value the articles of life in proportion to their dearth and scarcity, the power might be so modified in its exercise, as to be undeserving of public animadversion or interference. But it is now ascertained that, in a period of scarcity, when every effort is making by importation and economy to provide for the public necessities, a kind of *blockade* has checked the supply of the metropolis; large quantities of fish have been withheld or wantonly destroyed as they approached the market, and nearly two millions of inhabitants in London and its surrounding neighbourhood have been in a great measure deprived of an article of food, which might have lessened the consumption of butchers' meat and wheat-corn, to the relief of the whole kingdom.'

The evils of this monopoly are greatly enhanced by the tricks and abuses which are contrived by the fishermen, the salesmen, and the fishmongers, who, in the present state of things, are all more interested in creating a scarcity than in the diffusion of plenty. It is more advantageous to all these parties to sell a turbot at three guineas, and a lobster for its sauce at twelve shillings, than by sending three times the quantity to market, to reduce the prices

*Account of a Supply of Fish, p. 1 et seq.

to a sixth part of what they actually are. Great care is therefore taken that the market be precisely fed to the profitable point, but never overstocked. To effect this, they have a depôt of well-boats and store-boats ready stocked about Gravesend. In these boats a supply of cod, turbot, and lobsters are kept during the season, from whence the proper quantity is daily measured out for the Billingsgate market. In the height of the season those that get sickly are thrown overboard, but, towards the end, when keeping up the price is no longer an object, thousands of sickly and emaciated cod and lobsters are thrown into the market. Not many months ago a Russian frigate ran down one of these lobster vessels, and set 15,000 of these animals adrift in the Thames. A species of cruelty is resorted to in order to prevent lobsters, so pounded up, from tearing one another in pieces; the great claw is rendered paralytic by driving a wooden peg into the lower joint.

All attempts have hitherto failed to break this iniquitous combination. Certain fishmongers, encouraged by several noblemen and gentlemen, agreed to serve out fish at reduced prices, by having it brought from the coasts by land carriage. The Billingsgate salesmen took the alarm, raised a subscription of several thousand pounds, and bribed the servants and housekeepers of the encouragers of *land carriage* fish to put the very worst fish they could get on their masters' table; from which it soon obtained so bad a character that the new fishmongers were ruined, and the old ones contrived to add to their monopoly all the fish brought to market by land as well as water carriage.

It is of so much importance to destroy this combination, that the Committee of the Fish Association, in their first Report, consider it expedient to commence their operations with the metropolis, believing, and with reason, that the increased use of fish in London, Westminster, and their vicinity, would not fail to contribute, by their example, to introduce its general consumption into other cities and places in Great Britain. To attain this object, it appears to the committee to be absolutely necessary that the present impediments to supply and distribution should be removed.

Of these impediments, the four principal ones are the following. First, Billingsgate, being the only market, is neither adequate in size to more than a small portion of the necessary supply, nor convenient in point of access, or local situation, to the immense population which, within the last century, has extended itself to the westward, over Mary-le-bone, Paddington, Lambeth, &c. a circumstance which has necessarily impeded and obstructed the distribution and sale of fish. Secondly, the doubt and hesitation of fishermen in bringing up to this only market so large a quantity of fish

fish as they might procure, while so many circumstances render the sale of it both difficult and uncertain. Thirdly, the distribution and sale, arising from the local situation of Billingsgate market: 'the labour and loss of time of a poor basket-woman, who can afford to buy only a small lot of fish, must be greatly increased, by her being obliged to resort to Billingsgate between three and six o'clock in the morning, on account of her little purchase, and to return with it several miles on her head, before she can begin her sale.* The case with regard to mackerel, which more or less applies to other fish, is thus stated by Sir Thomas Bernard.

'It is a singular but well known fact, that at the very time when there is the greatest quantity of mackerel to be caught in the part of the British channel which supplies the London market, and when that fishery is most abundant, the fishermen who frequent Billingsgate, almost wholly discontinue the mackerel fishery. This extraordinary circumstance is thus accounted for. These fishermen depend in a great measure for customers on fishwomen who attend daily at Billingsgate with their baskets on their heads, to purchase the mackerel, and carry them for sale about the metropolis. As long as these women continue their attendance on the Billingsgate market, the fishermen are secure of a certain degree of custom for their fish; but as soon as the common fruit comes into season, they give up dealing in fish; finding the sale of gooseberries, currants and the like, to produce them a larger and more secure profit, with less risk or trouble. The fishermen being thus disappointed of a sale for their mackerel, at the time when they are most abundant, give up, in a degree, their employment for the season; and an immense quantity of palatable and nutritious food is thereby annually withheld from the inhabitants of the metropolis.

'This circumstance of the want of means of sending their fish generally into the town, not only prevents the mackerel being caught; but, even after they have been caught and brought up the river, precludes a considerable part of it from ever reaching the market; for all that arrives at this period beyond the estimated demand of the fishmongers, *however fresh and good*, is thrown into the Thames, and destroyed before it reaches Billingsgate; with the consequence of enhancing the price of mackerel to the opulent part of the metropolis, and of excluding most of its inhabitants from a participation in this cheap and plentiful supply of food.†

The fourth great impediment, mentioned by the committee, to the general use of fish in the metropolis, is the *uncertainty* of price, and the total ignorance in which the public are kept as to the *daily state* of the supply. 'The housekeeper who is going to market, knows pretty correctly what will be the price of mutton, beef, bread, cheese, and almost every other article of subsistence, but

* First Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 12.

† Account of a Supply of Fish, p. 3 and 4.

has no means of guessing whether fish will, that morning, be two-pence or two shillings a pound.' She knows, indeed, that the price depends mainly on the pleasure of the fishmongers, and considers it therefore a sort of prohibited article, fit only for the tables of the rich and luxurious. Indeed the great mass of inhabitants, consisting of tradespeople, mechanics, and small annuitants, would as soon think of going into Owen's or Grange's shops to ask the price of a pine-apple, as to inquire of Grove or Taylor the prices of cod, turbot, or salmon in the height of the season and when the town is full. Hence, when it may happen that there is even a glut of fish, which however is rarely the case, as there is no mode of diffusing that information, there is none of increasing the means of sale.

There is, however, another and not an artificial impediment to the regular supply of the metropolis by water carriage, which arises from the navigation of the river Thames. Whenever there is a prevalent south-west wind, which makes it impracticable to get up the river, the fishermen take shelter in a small bay on the Essex side of the mouth of the Thames, called Holy Haven, or sometimes East Haven; here they are obliged to wait a shift of wind, and, if disappointed in this, their cargoes are thrown overboard, and they proceed on another fishing voyage. The committee therefore propose to open a communication by land carriage between Holy Haven and the metropolis; the distance is only thirty miles, of which about four or five would require a new road to be made. Were this once effected, a daily and regular supply of fish would reach town in five or six hours after its arrival in Holy Haven, and the increased expense would not exceed one halfpenny a pound.*

The first step to the removal of all these obstacles to a more extended use of fish in the metropolis, appears obviously to be the dissolution of the present monopoly by the establishment of new markets. The evil of this monopoly is not a complaint of recent date; it would seem to have been felt so far back as the year 1749, when an act was passed 'for making a free market for the sale of fish in the city of Westminster; and for preventing the forestalling and monopolizing of fish;' yet, from some strange and unaccountable circumstances, though the population of Westminster and its connected neighbourhood has increased more than three-fold since the passing of that act of George II. no benefit whatever has been derived to this immense aggregate of population from it. The commissioners, in fact, seem to have mismanaged the concern al-

* Second Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 6.

together,

together, and to have put themselves completely into the power of the monopolists of Billingsgate.

The present committee therefore propose, in the first place, to make the act effective, and appoint new commissioners to carry it into execution. This, we conceive, is not enough; if an additional market was thought necessary in 1749, we should say that three at least were required in 1813; and as the nearer the markets supplying different articles are situated one to the other, the more convenience will be afforded to the housekeeper, we should recommend the establishment of one for the sale of fish in the vicinity of Blackfriars-bridge, near Fleet-market; a second in the neighbourhood of the new Strand-bridge, not very distant from Covent Garden and Hungerford markets; and a third near Westminster-bridge, for the supply of the lower part of Westminster and Lambeth. The fishermen of Brighton and other parts of the coasts of Sussex and Kent would amply supply these markets with the ordinary kinds of fish by land carriage, provided two obstacles were removed. The first is the collection of the post duty on the horses employed in their fish carts, which, for one cart with four horses, amounts to twenty-eight shillings. The second is the inconvenience and uncertainty of Billingsgate market. It appears, however, from Mr. Serjeant Onslow's interpretation of the act of 44 Geo. III. cap. 98, that no duty was meant to be imposed on a mere fish-cart or caravan, *carrying fish only*; and the joint opinion of the Attorney General and the learned serjeant on the other point is, that 'there is no legal impediment to any person or persons engaging a warehouse, yard, or other convenient place, at which to receive and sell, by retail or wholesale, fish or other victuals; but such individuals cannot by law erect a market, in which to exact tolls, or other incidents to a market.'* With submission to these learned authorities, the law for erecting one market, at least, in Westminster, exists as fully now as when it was enacted; and we apprehend that nothing more is wanting to carry it into effect than the nomination of new commissioners. Of this we trust the Committee of the Fish Association will not lose sight.

That the establishment of these markets would remove all the impediments to the general use of fish in the metropolis, has, we think, been decisively proved by an experiment made by Mr. Hale, one of the members of the Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor. He agreed with some fishermen to take from ten to twenty thousand mackerel a-day at a price not exceeding ten shillings the hundred of *six score*, or a penny a-piece; a price at

* Second Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 14.

which

which the fishermen said they could afford to supply the London market to any extent, *were they sure of a regular sale.* On the 15th June, 1812, upwards of 17,000 mackerel delivered at the stipulated price were sent to Spitalfields, and sold to the working weavers at the original cost of a penny a-piece, to which place women were employed to carry them from Billingsgate until eleven o'clock at night. Though purchased with great avidity by the inhabitants of that district, it soon appeared that Spitalfields alone would not be equal to the consumption of the vast quantities of mackerel which daily poured into the market; they were therefore sent for distribution among the poor, at the same rate, in other parts of the town; workhouses and other public establishments were also served; 'and the supply increased to so great a degree, that 500,000 mackerel arrived and were sold in one day.' The whole cost of this experiment for the distribution of *fresh and sweet mackerel*, caught the preceding day, at a penny a-piece, was fifty-five pounds ten shillings, expended chiefly in the carriage from Billingsgate.*

But this abundant supply is not confined solely to mackerel. Herrings might be sent up to market for many months in the year, and there sold for less than a halfpenny a-piece; and cod, haddocks, whittings, flounders, &c. proportionally cheap; so that no one week throughout the whole year would pass over, without every family in this great metropolis being enabled to enjoy a wholesome meal of fish one day at least in it.

The Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor did not stop here; they contracted for 200 tons of corned cod, caught and cured on our own coast, and for 400,000 corned herrings; the former was supplied to the distressed manufacturers of Sheffield at two pence halfpenny a pound, and the latter at the rate of two for three halfpence. It cannot then admit of a doubt, that, if facilities were given for a regular demand, the supply of fish, as of all other articles, would keep pace with that demand, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the United Kingdom; and it is quite certain that so great an addition to the quantity of food would have the effect of reducing its price, which is, at all times, an important consideration, but most important at the present time, when, to use the words of the Committee of the Fish Association, 'an increasing population, which in the last twelve years has been augmented by nearly a million and a half of inhabitants—extensive manufactories requiring a great addition of food—and the supply of our fleets and armies—of our West India colonies—and of those British settlements which do not entirely provide the means of their own subsistence—call imperiously both on the public and on individuals, to

* Account of a Supply of Fish, p. 5 et seq.

unite every effort to provide an increase of subsistence, and to shake off that annual dependence on the uncertain and ruinous importation of wheat corn and other grain, at an expense amounting, in the same period of twelve years, to no less a sum than forty-two millions of money, sent out of the kingdom in quest of the necessary articles of life.*

It must not be disguised however, that, such are the prejudices of the common people, and of the poor more especially, that were the supply of fish so abundant as to reduce the price to a very low rate, it would be considered as unwholesome, or not fresh, or out of season, and would consequently find few purchasers. A gradual introduction of fish as an ordinary article of food is preferable to a sudden overflow. An example set by their superiors frequently tends to the removal of the prejudices of the lower order. The late Admiral Rodney, dining at Carlton House, congratulated the Prince of Wales on seeing a plate of what he thought British cured herrings on the table, adding that, if His Royal Highness' example was followed by the upper ranks only, it would be the means of adding 20,000 hardy seamen to the navy. The Prince observed that he had paid him an unmerited compliment, the herrings not having been cured by British hands—'but,' continued His Royal Highness, 'henceforward I shall order a plate of British cured herrings to be purchased at any expense, to appear as a standing dish at this table: we shall call it a *Rodney*, and under that designation, what true patriot will not follow my example?† We fear the *Rodney*, like the monument voted to the memory of that gallant officer, has long been suspended.

But the uncontroled command of the sea, the local and natural advantages arising out of the insular situation of Great Britain and Ireland, 'encircled by inexhaustible shoals of nourishing and gratifying food,' the equally inexhaustible mines of salt which both the land and sea afford us, are advantages so eminently superior to those which most other nations are gifted with, that we ought not to be satisfied with the supply of our home consumption—We should imitate the Dutch, and draw from our stores a copious supply for exportation to foreign countries, in exchange for other articles of consumption, and thereby increase the national wealth, strength, and industry, and 'provide a great and unfailing nursery for our navy—the bulwark, the defence, and the glory of the United Kingdom.'

Here, we must confess, the causes of former failure are neither so obvious, nor the remedy against future failure so easy. Funds were not always wanting to supply every necessary material on a

* First Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 5 et seq.

† Proceedings of the British Society at the London Tavern, 25th March, 1789.

grand scale, nor were precautions neglected for ensuring success. So early as 1580 a plan was proposed to raise £80,000 for establishing the British fishery; in 1615 the like sum was raised by a joint-stock company; in 1632 a royal fishing company was established under the sanction of King Charles I. In 1660 parliament granted a remission of the salt duties, and freed all the materials employed in the fisheries from customs and excise. In 1661 the national fisheries met with great encouragement under the auspices of Charles II. In 1677 this monarch incorporated the Duke of York and others into 'The Company of the Royal Fishery of England.' In 1713 it was proposed to raise £180,000 on annuities, for the purpose of establishing a fishing company. In 1749, by the recommendation of George II. in his opening speech to parliament, and in consequence of a report of a committee of the House of Commons, £500,000 was subscribed for carrying on the fisheries under a corporation by the name of 'The Society of the Free British Fishery,' of which the Prince of Wales was chosen the governor. This society, which was patronized and promoted by the first men in the kingdom, promised fair for a little time, but it soon began to languish, nor could the enormous bounty of 56s. a ton prevent its total failure. The attention of parliament was again called to this great national object in 1786, when a new corporation was formed under the name of 'The British Society for extending the Fisheries and improving the Sea Coasts of the Kingdom,' which, if it does not flourish with all the vigor that could be wished, is still in existence, and we believe in an improving state.

These failures however, injurious as they might be to individuals, who contributed to the funds, were not so to the public; the towns and harbours of the maritime counties were improved, the number of seamen increased, the pilotage of the coasts better understood, and a body of expert fishermen formed, many of whom continued their occupations on the ruins of the several companies.

The success of the Dutch was owing in great measure to the steady industry of that indefatigable people. Their fishery, however, was conducted on a well-regulated system, by which all were required rigidly to abide; it was a concern, in which the whole nation might be said to partake. Every one felt it a duty to have a share in the fishery. An officer with the title of Admiral commanded the fishing squadron, whose directions all the rest were implicitly to obey. The English Companies, it is true, whether joint-stock or royal, had their regulations; but each fisherman when at sea 'was left to himself, and permitted to fish as best liketh him;' he was, in short, under no restraint or discipline. The Dutch, besides, were purely fishers; 'in season and out of season' they occupied

occupied themselves in matters solely connected with the fishery. The English combined with their fishery some other employment which but too frequently furnished an excuse for putting to sea, perhaps at the proper moment, whenever they might find themselves disposed to loiter on shore. It is an old complaint that while the provident and indefatigable Dutch went out to sea as far as the Shetland Islands to meet the herrings, the English quietly waited their arrival on the coast and in the creeks. 'The Hollanders are industrious,' says Sir John Burroughs, 'and no sooner are discharged of lading but presently put forth for more, and seek for markets abroad as well as at home; whereas our English, after they have been once at sea, doe commonly never returne againe until all the money taken for their fish be spent, and they are in debt, seeking only to serve the next market.*' The English moreover being, as we have before observed, half traders and half fishers, were in the habit of proceeding to the mid channel and there bartering their goods for fish with the Dutch and Flemings; a practice which led by no very slow degrees to systematic smuggling, which was found to be an employment so much more genteel and easy, as well as profitable, that the fishing towns became so many depositories of contraband goods.

We may therefore not be much out in ascribing the failure of the English fisheries for the home market to a want of those facilities which would create a steady demand, and ensure to the fisherman a certain and ready sale of his produce; and of those for the foreign market, to a want of system and management in the Royal and Joint-stock Companies—to a want of funds by individual fishermen, and the unwillingness of men of capital to engage in a concern of such doubtful success;—to which may be added the indifference and want of attention arising from the mixed employment of our fishermen: perhaps, however, the failure was after all mostly owing to the Dutch having anticipated and secured to themselves the best of the foreign markets, where their herrings had obtained the character of being so much superior to ours, that it was in vain we endeavoured to enter into competition with them, even in regard to price.

If we turn our attention, in the next place, to the fisheries of Scotland, we shall find that there too they have always languished; yet all the natural inducements that can invite or compel to the cultivation of the fishery exist on the northern and western shores of that country, and more especially on its appendant islands of Orkney, Shetland, and the Hebrides. It is here that 'the British Society for extending the Fisheries' have chiefly exerted them-

* The Sovereignty of the British Seas proved, &c. p. 53.

selves, and here indeed their exertions were most required. The total change which the rebellion, and the consequent breaking up of the clans, occasioned in the situation and circumstances of the Highlanders, compelled many thousand families to seek for employment on the opposite shores of the Atlantic. This emigration depopulated whole districts. The soil was not ungrateful nor the climate ungenial; both the sea and the land offered abundant means of subsistence: but the change was too violent to admit of proper measures being taken to allure these poor people to the pursuit of the fisheries and the cultivation of the waste lands. Seduced too by false statements, and deluded by imaginary happiness, they fled from their native shores to undergo a state of misery ten times more severe than that from which they vainly flattered themselves they were escaping. Their deplorable condition in the promised land of America is thus feelingly, and we believe faithfully, described by a gentleman who spared no pains in directing his inquiries into the 'most effectual means of the improvement of the coasts and the western isles of Scotland.'

'Within these few years I have taken much pains to inquire, and have had the very best opportunities of ascertaining, the unhappy fate of many of those unfortunate people who have emigrated, either from Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, to that part of the globe; and even within these few months I have had an account of the poverty, wretchedness, nakedness, and misery of many of those people, which it is almost horrible to describe. Of money there is none to be obtained; what is carried out is soon expended; and when their clothes are worn out they have no means of replacing them. If they should even obtain employment as labourers, they can get no wages in money from their employers. If they obtain land, they can get nothing for its produce: their food a little Indian corn and water, they drag out a miserable existence, with little chance of ever acquiring the only consolation that remains, that of procuring the means of returning to their native land, in which many hundreds of these deluded people declared to my friend that they would be glad to accept the most abject employments, or even to beg from door to door rather than support the miseries of their situation in America. The women who had gone out were of all others the most wretched; nor is there, of either sex, or of any description, a single individual, who has recently emigrated to America, that would not think it the most fortunate emancipation to be landed naked on their native shores.*

To put an effectual bar to the recurrence of so much misery on the return of peace, to prevent so many brave men and their families being lost to the country, in which the interests of humanity are no less concerned than those of sound policy, no great sacrifice on the

* Letter to the Right Honourable Charles Abbot on the improvement of the coasts and extension of the fisheries of Scotland, &c. by R. Fraser, Esq.

part of the public would seem to be required. These emigrations are not so much owing to a redundancy, as to a scantiness, of population. The dispersion of the inhabitants over a wide tract of country is unfavourable to the cultivation and improvement of it; it is useless to raise grain where there is no demand for it—no markets—no roads—no assemblage of people in towns, uniting in one point the various occupations of social life, and sending forth, like the heart in the human body, health and vigour to the extremities. In such a country the great landholder finds his advantage in converting whole districts into pasture for the rearing of cattle and sheep, which require not a turnpike road for driving them to a market. The same scantiness of population on the sea-coasts, where all are fishermen, is attended with the same disadvantages. The families of these poor people are in a state of constant migration; for the wives and children of fishermen are employed in gutting the fish. The women travel along the dreary coast, from bay to bay, in the cheerless months of November and December, with their infants on their backs, a little oatmeal, a kettle and a few other utensils, which an uninhabited waste could not supply: 'they commence their cold and heartless labour without shelter for themselves or their infants, without any change of their daily diet of fish and oatmeal, no house to screen the sick or the dying—the heath, the cavern, or stunted bush their only bed, the snow or the hoary frost their only covering.*' So strongly, indeed, was the House of Commons impressed with a sense of the evils arising out of this state of the country, that it is declared in the Act † which incorporates the 'British Society,' 'that the building of free towns, villages, piers and fishing stations in the Highlands and islands of North Britain, will greatly contribute to the improvement of the fisheries, agriculture, manufactures, and other useful objects of industry in that part of the kingdom, in which the dispersed situation of the inhabitants have hitherto proved a great impediment to their active exertions; and their being collected into fishing towns and villages would be the means of forming a nursery of hardy seamen for His Majesty's navy, and the defence of the kingdom.'

Accordingly three fishing settlements were fixed on by the Committee of the Directors; one at Ullapool, on the north; another at Loch-bay, in the Isle of Sky; and the third on the south coast, at Tobermory; since which has recently been added a fourth at Pulteney-town, near Wick in Caithness. Bounties were also given at the same time and certain facilities granted with regard to the salt duties, which have subsequently been extended; but this is not enough: before any effectual remedy can be applied to the Scotch

* View of the Highlands, 1784.

† 26 Geo. 3.

fisheries, the indulgence must be enlarged, more towns built, and all the restraints and complicated regulations arising from the duty on salt completely done away. This is of far greater importance to the fisherman than the allowing of bounties, and in the end attended probably with less loss to the revenue. We think with Adam Smith, that a tonnage-bounty, proportioned to the burden of the ship, and not to her diligence and success in the fishery, is not the best stimulus to exertion; but we by no means agree with him, that vessels will be fitted out for the sole purpose of catching, not the fish, but the bounty. We must also doubt the correctness of the fact adduced in illustration of his theory, namely, that, in the year 1759, when the bounty was fifty shillings the ton, the whole buss-fishery of Scotland brought in only *four barrels* of herrings; so that each barrel of merchantable herrings in that year cost the government, in bounties alone, £159 7s. 6d.* This is at least strangely inconsistent with what he advances in the very next page, namely, that the great bounties had given such *encouragement* to the buss-fishery as to ruin the boat-fishery. But facts were then, as they now are, against his theory; the buss-fishery, in spite of bounties, is gone to decay, while the boat-fishery not only survives but improves. We agree with him, however, that bounties have the effect of encouraging rash adventurers in concerns which they do not understand, and cause them to lose, by their ignorance, more than is gained by the liberality of government. The bounty, in fact, is no encouragement to the actual fisherman. In the Shetland islands the laird is the proprietor of the boats. All that the poor fisherman catches is to be delivered to the laird's steward at a very low rate, who, in return, gives him the heads of the fish for himself and family, and serves him with the necessaries of life from the laird's storehouse at an enormous profit, sometimes at the rate of five shillings for a peck of oatmeal of eight pounds weight. His family employ themselves in making worsted stockings, mittens and night-caps, for which they are allowed about five pence a pair!†

It appears from the report of a committee of the House of Commons in 1785, that the whole of the duties on salt received into the Treasury from the counties of Argyle, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, on an average of the preceding ten years, amounted only to £172 6s. per annum, and there is reason to believe that they have not since that time increased. These counties might therefore be exempt from the duties on salt without much injury to the revenue; but this is not enough; they should

* Wealth of Nations.

† General Remarks on the British Fisheries, 1784.

also be exempt from 'the various vexatious bonds and penalties which at present accompany that indulgence, and which in many cases are as distressing to the fishers as if they paid the duty on the salt they use.* How, for instance, can it be expected that the poor fisherman should send to the distance of 80 or 100 miles to a depôt of salt for every boat load of fish he may wish to cure? how can he convey such cured fish to a custom-house, equally distant, to have it examined? He has not sufficient capital to purchase a ship load of salt; or if he had, where is he to keep this perishable article? It is well known that for want of facilities which would enable individuals to purchase small quantities of salt, hundreds of boat loads of fish are cast away, or thrown upon the land as manure.

Nothing can more strongly exemplify the beneficial effects arising from the free use of salt, without being subject to bonds, pains, or penalties, than the privilege granted by Parliament to the inhabitants of the Isle of Man to import salt from England duty free, not only for curing fish, but for all other domestic purposes. In the year 1769 the inhabitants of this island amounted to 17,500. 'In the year 1784,' says Mr. Fraser, 'I had the honour to be appointed by the Treasury to make an inquiry into the state of the revenue and fisheries of that island. I found that, at that period, without bounties on their boats or the tonnage of their fishing smacks, or any premiums other than the free use of salt, they carried on a most extensive fishery, which employed 2500 seamen. In the absence of the herrings, the fishermen supplied the consumption of the island, in great abundance, with white fish, the agriculture was greatly increased, and the population consisted of 30,000 souls, having nearly doubled the number of its inhabitants in fifteen years.† In 1798 their boats had increased both in number and size; from the burden of ten to twelve tons they had now advanced from sixteen to twenty two tons, of which the number exceeded 350, each employing seven or eight men; they had besides from forty to fifty fishing smacks from twenty to forty tons each, the whole employing upwards of 3000 seamen, which were then equal to the number of men and boys employed in the whole of the huss fishery of Scotland, supported by bounties exceeding £20,000 a year.‡ The prosperity of this island continues to be progressive, which is ascribed principally to the free importation of salt. That frauds are here committed on the revenue, and that, if the same indulgence was granted to the fisheries of Scotland, they would be committed to a greater extent, proportionate to the greater facilities of disposing of this ar-

* Committee of Fisheries in 1785.

† Letter to the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, from R. Fraser, Esq.

‡ Report of the Committee of the House of Commons for the Fisheries, in 1798.

ticle, there can be no doubt; but it is probable, on the other hand, that the trade and manufactures of the United Kingdom would be more benefited by the increased quantity of food thereby procured, and the national prosperity more advanced by the increased wealth of a numerous body of fishermen, than it possibly can be by the trifling sum which may accrue to the revenue from the present system of the salt laws as they affect the fisheries. We are persuaded, however, that means may be discovered effectually to prevent duty-free-salt from being used for any other purpose than that of curing fish, by making it unfit for, or immediately detected if applied to, any domestic use; as tinging it, for instance, with a pale red, green or yellow colour, while liquid in the pans, and thus communicating a tint to the solid crystals, which would in no shape injure the fish.

The whole sea coast of Ireland, its bays, creeks, inlets, lakes and rivers abound with all the various kinds of edible fish and of the very best quality; yet the fisheries of this part of the United Empire have, if possible, been more neglected than either those of England or Scotland. The Nymph bank* on the southern coast, abounding with cod, hake and ling, and presenting a fishery, perhaps not quite so extensive, but equal in all other respects, to that of the banks of Newfoundland, was a late discovery. The Liverpool market is scantily supplied from this bank; but those of Bristol, Bath, Plymouth, Exeter, Portsmouth and London might derive an ample supply of white fish from thence with greater certainty and facility than from the banks of the North Sea, the wind blowing fair from it for all those markets nine months out of twelve. But the Irish, poor and wretched as they are, and surrounded as the island is with inexhaustible fishing grounds, are either so indolent or have so little inclination to engage in the fisheries, that they have not yet proceeded a single step beyond procuring a partial supply of their own wants. They seem indeed to have less taste for a sea-faring life than their insular situation might be supposed to create, a proof of which is given in the few men which that country furnishes for the royal navy. With a population consisting of considerably more than one fourth of the whole population of the United Kingdom, Ireland does not supply more than one-seventh of the men belonging to the navy, and three-fourths of this small portion are landmen. Those few who follow the occupation of fishermen are so much prejudiced in favour of their own imperfect methods of catching fish, that they have hitherto resisted all attempts at improvement. A gentleman, it seems, by a particular

* So called from the vessel in which it was discovered, by Mr. Doyle, and of which an account was published in 1736.

kind of trammel net, proved to them that in a couple of hours he could take ten times the quantity of hake that they with their hookers were able to do in a whole night. The cost of one of these hookers is from £130 to £150; it is navigated by four men and a boy, and the mode of fishing is by the hook and line. A set of trammel nets with a boat costs only from £30 to £35. They employ four men, but when thrown out require no attention and do not prevent the use of the line at the same time,—the one is certain, the other uncertain. The hake, though playing about in shoals, are not always in the humour of *biting*; but they cannot escape the trammels. The hook too must be *baited*, and baits are sometimes not to be had. The poor fisherman can never hope to raise out of the produce of his labour so large a sum as from £120 to £150 to enable him to purchase a hooker; but a small boat and a net may fall within his compass, or at any rate may be purchased by a joint contribution of the boats' crew; and the feelings of proprietorship would give a spur to his activity. Yet with all these obvious advantages, such was the prejudice against this new method of taking fish, that the crews of the hookers, alarmed at the supposed diminution of their profit, occasioned by the increased supply, combined together along the whole coast and destroyed the trammel nets wherever they discovered them.*

An enlightened society for Ireland, formed on similar principles to that of the British society for extending the fisheries, &c. in another part of the United Kingdom, might be the means of removing those prejudices. Still the same difficulties would remain with regard to the salt laws, the removal of which it is presumed would, under proper regulations, give such a spur to the Irish fisheries, as would amply compensate the loss or failure of the distant fishery of Newfoundland, neither of which are impossible contingencies. It may be lost by the war; it may fail through the exertions and success of a rival. In point of fact, it has for some years past been progressively on the decline; whilst that of New-England has continued to flourish in the same progression.

It is stated on good authority, that in the year 1805, the number of vessels employed in the American fishery amounted to about 1500, carrying about ten thousand men, who had caught from 8 to 900,000 quintals of fish, while the whole produce of the Newfoundland fishery did not exceed 500,000 quintals, and the number of vessels and men employed did not amount to one half of that employed by the Americans.† The causes of this falling off are stated to be; first, the prohibition from making such local

* Hints for the Improvement of the Irish Fishery, by Geo. N. Whately.

† Considerations on the Expediency of adopting certain measures for the Encouragement or Extension of the Newfoundland Fishery. 1805.

laws and regulations as might be suitable to the circumstances of the inhabitants; secondly, the restriction which prevents the resident inhabitants from erecting their necessary dwellings; thirdly, the prohibition against the enclosure and cultivation of land, which prevents the inhabitants from raising any part of their provisions beyond a few potatoes; and fourthly, the restriction laid on the importation of provisions from the United States, which confines that importation to bread flour, Indian corn, and live stock, and that only on conditions not calculated to afford the inhabitants much relief. 'From a system the first object of which is to withhold that principle of internal legislation which is acknowledged to be indispensable to the good government of every community—which restrains the building of comfortable dwellings, in a climate exposed to the most inclement winter—which prohibits the cultivation of the soil for food—and restricts the importation of it from the only market, which the inhabitants have the power to go to—from such a system it is not surprising that the inhabitants of Newfoundland are not able to maintain a competition against the American fishermen.*'

We have our doubts whether the Newfoundland fishery would be worth the carrying on, provided our home fisheries were in a better state of cultivation. To send out an annual supply of food for all the men employed on this fishery, to the distance of 3000 miles, and an annual supply of fishermen and seamen, who make it a convenient stepping-stone in their emigrations to America, while the home fisheries on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, equally productive of the same kind of fish equally good, are nearly abandoned, is, to say the least of it, a questionable policy. It adds little to the wealth and less to the strength of the empire, and it appears to us quite impossible that we can, on return of peace, carry on a competition with the Americans on their own shores.

The brief review which we have taken of the British fisheries conveys not a flattering, but we believe, a faithful, picture of their present state. The supply, as we have seen, is inexhaustible; the demand, not satisfied either in the home or the foreign market; the object, of great national importance; the means, completely within ourselves; and success, certain under a well regulated plan. We have our doubts, however, whether Mr. Schultes has suggested such a plan; like most projectors, he brings forward only the favorable bearings, and promises too much.

The outline of his scheme, if we rightly comprehend it, is this—The herring fishery to be placed under the continual support and immediate direction of the government, whose chief officers, as

* Considerations on the Expediency of adopting certain measures for the Encouragement or Extension of the Newfoundland Fishery. 1805.

factors or middle men, are to inspect the curing and packing of all fish for the foreign market. The salt laws to be revised, restrictions removed, all penalties abolished, and the intervention of excise officers dispensed with. A fund of *six millions* to be raised and issued in descriptive notes of one to five pounds each, to be recalled at the end of five years, and bearing interest at five per cent. To build or purchase a fishing navy of 4000 good stout vessels, not less than 50 or 60 tons burden, each of which, with all the appropriate furniture, is calculated to cost about £3000, or the whole fishing flotilla twelve millions; one half of the value to be advanced by the fund above-mentioned. The fish to be cured on board and repacked on shore, according to the regulations observed by the Dutch. All the herrings caught and packed to be purchased by government at 25s. a barrel of sea-sticks, which, when repacked, may be disposed of at 42s. a barrel. It is supposed that each ship will take and cure annually, on an average, 600 barrels or 2,400,000 barrels on the whole, which, after repacking, will give 1,600,000 barrels of merchantable herrings. The account would then stand as under.

Payments.

For 2,400,000 barrels at 25s. the barrel, £3,000,000,	
in five years	£15,000,000
Deduct five years interest on the sum borrowed	1,500,000
	<hr/> £13,500,000

Receipts.

1,600,000 repacked herrings, or, in five years,	
8,000,000 barrels at 42s.	16,800,000
Profit to Government	<hr/> 3,300,000
Or annually	<hr/> £660,000

Of the 1,600,000 barrels he estimates 600,000 for the consumption of Ireland, and one million to the northern nations of Europe; for he observes, that as it is ascertained the latter took from the Dutch 624,000 barrels in 1653, it may be presumed, 'upon the calculations made by political arithmeticians,' there must have been a double population since that period, and consequently there must be a double demand. We are not sufficiently interested to inquire in what school Mr. Schultes learned his political arithmetic, but if his mercantile arithmetic is not grounded on better principles, we suspect that Government would have but a losing bargain by employing him as their accountant in the new national herring

herring fishery. We do not see clearly, what appears so very obvious to Mr. Schultes, how the poor's rate would become extinct by compelling each poor person to eat four salt herrings a week. His other plan, of raising 'seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds a year,' is as certain as it would be ingenious, *if*—'if two-thirds of the poor of England and Wales should earn by manual labour three shillings a week each person.' But his 'illustration' of increasing the revenue and diminishing taxes by repositories of pickled herring in every town, is, to us at least, an 'illustration' in the form of *obscurum per obscurius*.

We have a more rational and feasible 'project of a plan for the improvement of the British fisheries' by an anonymous author.* He proposes, 1. A grand national corporation organized under the immediate protection and superintendence of parliament. 2. A capital stock of to be raised in shares by the sea port towns and corporations, proportioned to the advantages of locality, and amount of their trade and tonnage; an annual dividend of 5 per cent. guaranteed on the capital. 3. Conveniences for shipping, storehouses, sheds, &c. constructed in places contiguous to the best fishing grounds. 4. A free use of salt by the managers without any interference of the revenue officers. 5. The fish taken and cured to be exempt from all duties whatever; on the other hand no bounties to be given. 6. Fishermen disabled by accident, age, or infirmity, and the widows and children of fishermen to be provided for. 7. The corporation to be authorised to propose rules for the regulation and discipline of the fishery. He proposes to catch and cure in the deep sea herring fishery, for the foreign market, 900,000 barrels, and for home consumption 600,000 barrels, or 1,500,000 barrels annually, which at 24s. a barrel would be worth £1,800,000. To do this there would be required 60,000 tons of decked vessels manned with 14,000 men and boys. The cost of these vessels, with their furniture, nets, and the wharfs, storehouses, &c. he estimates at £1,050,000, which with the total annual expenditure, risk, and interest on the capital will be further augmented to the sum of £1,673,250, so that after allowing a fair profit on all the articles of expenditure, and finding employment for vast multitudes on shore, there will remain an annual surplus saving of £126,750. On the same principle on a capital of £764,000, expended on the cod fishery, he makes out a clear annual gain of £136,000 by employing 40,000 tons of decked shipping, and 4800 men and boys to catch and cure 600,000 barrels of cod fish.

The outline of the plan we consider as unobjectionable. We

* Plan of National Improvement, &c. Brunswick. 1803.

would

would only add that the shares should be reduced into so small a sum, ten pounds for instance, that every poor fisherman might have the chance of becoming a proprietor, and should always be entitled to a preference in the purchase of shares, which, in addition to the price paid for his labour would ensure him 5 per cent. on all his savings; the clear profits, after the appropriation of a fund to provide for decayed fishermen and their families, might either be applied to an increase of the dividend or extension of the capital. It is for want of some such security, that capital has not been adventured in the home fisheries; and government only can afford satisfactory security. Wherever a capital has been advanced, it has been done with the sole view of securing a monopoly, as in the case of the salesmen of Billingsgate. A real master fisherman with an establishment of vessels, boats, nets, &c. is a character wholly unknown on the coasts of Britain; but let the government guarantee the capitalist 5 per cent. for the money he advances, under proper regulations, and every seaport in the kingdom, favourably situated for the prosecution of the fisheries, would speedily furnish whatever sum might be required. Supposing a million sterling to be advanced by individuals of the various fishing stations on the coast, the annual expense to government would not exceed £50,000, while the benefits which the nation would derive from it are incalculable. We think nothing of voting twenty or thirty thousand pounds annually for carrying on the Caledonian canal, which many well informed persons consider as an useless expenditure of money; whilst the same sums annually expended on the improvement of the sea coast and on the encouragement of the deep sea fishery would add more to the wealth, strength, and prosperity of Scotland, than all the Caledonian canals which engineers have projected.

In a national point of view the extension of the home fisheries would be attended with many important considerations. By augmenting the quantity of food there would necessarily result a reduction in the prices of all the necessaries of life; the condition of the labouring poor, artificers, and tradesmen would be improved; and a permanent fishery would be the means of rearing and supporting a bold and hardy race of men for the defence of the sea coast, and of creating a nursery of excellent seamen for the navy, not less valuable, we might perhaps say, more valuable than that of the coal trade. This is a consideration of more importance at the present moment, when, after a war of twenty years duration, our old seamen are fast wearing out, and the ordinary sources of recruiting young ones greatly exhausted by the regular army and militia, into which landmen are tempted to enter by the large bounties, which exceed those given by the navy in a
five-

five-fold proportion. The merchant service is no longer that nursery of seamen for the navy which it used to be. Merchant vessels are now for the most part navigated by invalided seamen and foreigners; and the Americans have robbed us of 40,000, or as some say, 60,000 seamen. We are strongly inclined to think that the late unfortunate captures of our frigates by the Americans were less owing to any disparity in the respective sizes of the ships and the weight of metal, (though that disparity is sufficiently great to account for it,) than to the circumstance of the enemy's ships being manned wholly with prime seamen, which their limited navy enables them to do; whereas in our immense fleets one third part only of the crews of the ships consists of able seamen, (among whom the petty officers are included,) the rest being made up of ordinary, landmen, and boys. We may add too that, in many of our ships, every tenth man is a foreigner. We are ready to admit that, from such inferiority of bodily strength, and of numbers versed in seamanship, this new naval enemy may occasionally have the advantage; but we repel with disdain and indignation the calumnious assertion that our seamen have become 'heartless;' an assertion so false and libellous that it could have been hatched only in the mischievous designs of some dark and malignant spirit, or in the disordered brain of a maniac; but no sooner hatched than confuted by the fact of a British frigate completely subduing, in fifteen minutes, an American frigate, her superior in size, her superior in metal, her superior in number of men. It is, perhaps, not generally known, that immediately after boarding, the Chesapeake separated from the Shannon, while the colours of the former were still flying and the ship unhurt, so that in fact the whole of her remaining crew was conquered by about 140 British seamen, with Brooke at their head, who scoured the decks and drove the whole crew into the bottom of the ship with 'irresistible fury.'

With such men, trained by such an officer, we have little to apprehend from the superior magnitude of the enemy's ships; but we do entertain very serious apprehensions lest the supply of these brave fellows should fail us. By encouraging the fisheries, however, every seaport town, every little village on the coast, and on the banks of the creeks and inlets, would become a nursery of seamen. Every spot to which boats and vessels resort must necessarily raise seamen; the very sight of them creates a taste for the sea in the neighbouring youth; and the little adventures and risks of a coasting voyage or a fishing expedition, instead of deterring, serve only to excite in boys of spirit a stronger desire to brave the 'bills of the stormy deep.' We must not flatter ourselves that the long protracted war has increased our naval power; far otherwise is the case, as every experienced officer in the service well knows.

It

It is therefore the more incumbent on the government to omit no measures that may tend to keep up this 'arm of our strength,' so essential to the honour, the independence, and the security of Great Britain; and we know of no measure so well calculated to produce this effect, as that of giving every possible assistance and encouragement to the home fisheries.

But the encouragement of the fisheries in a naval point of view is almost of equal importance on the recurrence of peace, as in the midst of a war. What, we would ask, is to become of the 145,000 seamen and marines now serving in the navy, at the conclusion of the war? Supposing that 45,000 be required to be kept in full-pay, what is to become of the remaining 100,000? When the commerce of the whole world, which we now almost exclusively possess, comes to be divided among the several maritime nations of Europe and America, so great a number of discharged seamen will in vain seek for employment in our commercial marine; and if not employed in the home and foreign trade, or in some way or other, must obviously be lost to the country. We may fairly reckon however that of these 100,000 men, one in five, from long service, wounds and infirmities, will be unable to provide for himself, and will, therefore, be a fit object for the nation's gratitude, dispensed through the medium of that noble institution, towards the support of which, indeed, every seaman contributes, and is therefore the more entitled to its relief. But where are the funds to be found to provide for 20,000 additional objects, who, on every consideration, must be thought deserving the benefit of Greenwich hospital! There are at present on that establishment about 2500 in, and 10,000 out, pensioners, requiring an annual sum of £120,000. In peace the revenues must fall off greatly, as many of the productive sources will then be dried up. A national fishery would give employment to all such Greenwich pensioners as were able to be useful, whether in the ships fishing at sea, or the boats attached to the fishery, or in the various occupations connected with it onshore, the number of whom may at least be reckoned at two-thirds of the whole. It is well known that there are few of the in-pensioners, comfortable as they are, who would not rather prefer a small out-pension to enable them to pass the evening of their days among their friends, who mostly reside at some or other of the sea port towns of the United Kingdom. Now every in-pensioner costs the establishment at least £36 annually, while the largest out-pension does not exceed £18, and many are as low as £7. Hence thrice the present number of those in the hospital might be subsisted, and with greater comfort to themselves, by admitting the helpless only as in-patients, and allowing all such as were still able to do something, full liberty to go where

where they pleased. By this regulation, were the fisheries once established on a grand national plan, employment might be found on every part of the coast of the United Kingdom for a vast number of brave and deserving men, each retiring to the neighbourhood of his native spot: and here, with the addition of his small pension to his earnings, the worn-out seaman might be enabled to pass the remainder of that life, of which the best portion had been devoted to his country's service, among the friends and companions of his early days.

Every one must be fully aware of the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of manning the navy on the breaking out of a new war. For every ship of the line that we could send to sea, the first six months of the war, the enemy, by his marine conscription, would be able to man and equip five. But a national fishery, established on a grand scale and under proper regulations, would form such a nursery for the navy that we might then rely with certainty on a supply of seamen equal to the manning of twenty sail of the line at the shortest notice, on the speedy equipment of which the safety of the country might perhaps mainly depend.

We pretend not to know whether the attention of the government may or may not have been drawn to this important subject; but we do know that the highest considerations of state-policy—that every motive of public interest and private benefit—urge the immediate adoption of some efficient plan for the extension and improvement of the fisheries. The present state of the war makes such an undertaking the more necessary, whilst farther delay may be altogether fatal to it. It is essential to the success of any plan that our fishermen should obtain a full possession of the fishing grounds, and be in vigorous pursuit of all the various fisheries from Shetland to the Land's End, before the termination of the war. That period once arrived, the golden opportunity will have passed away. Whenever peace shall take place, we may be well assured that our ancient rivals the Dutch, who by French alliance have lost their navy, their commerce and their colonies, will, through French assistance, strain every nerve to re-create the one and regain the others. To effect this, they have the same means and the same resources which succeeded so well and so rapidly in former times. Nothing that we can possibly do, on the return of peace, will check their progress half so effectually as an immediate and vigorous prosecution of the fisheries, on our part, while the war lasts, and the getting possession, not only of the best fishing grounds, but also of the best foreign markets for the disposal of their produce. Those markets are now open to us. The Baltic, the Mediterranean, the whole coast of Spain and Portugal, the West India islands, the Brazils and Spanish America would ensure

ensure a demand for an almost unlimited quantity of salted fish. It would be idle to suppose that, on the return of friendly relations with the Dutch, we shall be able to prevent their fishing on our coasts, and in our very harbours, as they have been accustomed to do heretofore. In the last short interval of peace they came over to dredge for oysters, and to procure whilks for bait, in the very mouth of the Thames. French fishing vessels visited the banks and inlets on the coast of Ireland; and a boast was made, in the official journal of that country, that, in the course of two months, the Boulogne fishermen caught as many herrings on our side of the Channel, as produced them £28,000; and that one third of this sum was paid by English fishermen in ready money for the purchase of fish caught on their own shores!

In any negotiation for a general peace, every effort will be used by our inveterate and deadly foe to thrust forward, as a prominent feature, *the liberty of the seas*. Our naval superiority is, in fact, the *lethalis arundo* that rankles in his breast. By that superiority the spark of liberty has still been kept alive on the continent of Europe, and by it alone have Spain and Portugal been rescued from the tyrant's iron grasp. We are therefore accused by him, on all occasions, and the accusation is re-echoed by his worthy coadjutor in America, 'of wishing to exclude the universe from that element which constitutes three-fourths of the globe;' and of throwing a barrier across this 'common highway of nations.' The accusation, we need not say, is utterly unfounded. The superiority which we have obtained by the skill and valour of British seamen has been used with British generosity and moderation. But, we confess, it has frequently occurred to us, that the charge might have been answered by a public declaration, stating clearly and explicitly what those maritime rights are, 'which,' to use the words of Mr. Abbot when speaking in the name of the Commons of England, 'we have resolved never to surrender.' The ground on which we stand is too firm and too elevated to require us to rest our foundation on undefined pretensions. We may, with safety, not only declare what those rights are, but further, that we shall wage interminable war rather than abate or compromise one iota of them. We hold the full and free use of the ocean, and every part thereof, by the whole universe, as a fundamental principle of public law, subject only to those regulations which have been established and sanctioned by the law of nations. England, it is true, has long claimed the sovereignty of the seas as a right which universal conquest has fairly given her; a right which we trust she will long continue to hold for her own honor and for the general happiness of mankind. Her sovereignty however is purely military, and in other respects but a 'barren

sceptre;' for, we repeat that at no period does it appear that she ever intended to set up any claim to a legal and possessory right of the sea to the exclusion of other nations.

That we have used the sovereignty of the seas with moderation is no idle assertion. If, by the common consent of nations, the sea has been held to be innocent, and inexhaustible, and therefore, that every one has a right to use it for navigation, and for fishing, England has not infringed either of those rights. She has exercised no prerogative of power beyond what is strictly recognised by the law of nations—assumed no privilege that could tend to the establishment of any legal right to the dominion even of her own seas. The *Mare Clausum* of Selden was certainly calculated to mislead, and it did mislead, a great part of the public on a point to which the public feeling was tremblingly alive; but the ablest statesmen of that day never thought of confounding the two questions of military dominion, and legal right of possession; or, as Vattel expresses it, 'England never claimed the property of all the seas, over which she has claimed the empire;' whilst he admits at the same time, that she had a right to take possession of the herring fishery on her coasts, though the omission of so doing caused that fishery to become common.

As the right to an appropriate fishery on our own coasts may speedily be brought into public discussion, it may be worth while to inquire how the fact stands with regard to our claims to the fishery in the seas of Great Britain—whether we have, in point of fact, at any period of our history, established a claim, by assuming to ourselves the power of granting licenses, or assigning limits, to those fisheries. There are two or three points on record that would seem to countenance the idea of the Kings of England having exercised these acts of sovereignty. Sir John Borroughs, whom we have before quoted, says, in his *Sovereignty of the British Seas*, that Philip the Second, king of Spain, obtained of Queen Mary his wife, a licence for his subjects to fish upon the north coasts of Ireland, they paying yearly for the same one thousand pounds sterling, which was accordingly paid into the exchequer of Ireland; but he produces no authority excepting the hearsay of the son of Sir Henry Fitton the treasurer. Such payment is no where on record, and, if ever made, was either a private bribe or an extortion. What appears to render this the more probable, is that the ambassadors of Queen Elizabeth openly affirmed to those of Denmark, when that power pretended to prevent foreigners from fishing between Norway and Iceland, 'that the kings of England had in no time forbid the freedom of fishing in the Irish sea, albeit they were lords of both banks.' Again, it is recorded by Camden, and quoted by a number of writers, that the Dutch asked leave of the
governor

governor of the castle of Scarborough to fish for herring on that part of the coast, observing that 'the English always gave leave to fish, reserving the honour to themselves, but slothfully resigning the profit to others.' But Sir Philip Meadows observes that Mr. Camden has produced no authority for such an assertion; that the governor might probably, by his civilities to the fishermen, make some perquisites, and derive some emoluments, by permitting them to dry their nets on shore, fetch victuals and water, &c. but that it is not likely he had so indefinite a power, as to enable him to give leave, upon bare asking, for foreigners to fish at pleasure within the royalties of the crown; that at any rate it is manifest that no state ever did pay to the crown of England any yearly sum or other consideration for liberty of fishing upon the seas of England, for, in such case, such sum must have passed into the account of the exchequer as a branch of the royal revenues, and have there remained on record.* He further observes that none of our leagues and treaties made either with the house of Burgundy or with the house of Austria, since the union of the two houses, or with the States General, since their disunion from both, have ever reserved to the crown of England, any annual payment, fee-farm or consideration, for their liberty of fishing in our seas; that a certain sum was never agreed, and that an uncertain one could never be demanded; that, on the contrary, all the ancient treaties from the time of Edward IV. to James I. with the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy and the princes of the Low Countries, invariably covenant on both sides that their respective subjects should freely, and without let or hindrance, fish every where upon the sea, without asking any licenses, passports or safe conducts.—For instance, in the treaty between Edward IV. of England and Francis duke of Britany, the fishermen of both nations *pourront peaceablement aller par tout sur mer pour pescher et gagner leur vivre, sans impeachment, ou disturber de l'une partie ou de l'autre,* &c. Thus also in the Intercursus Magnus made in 1495 between Henry VII. and Philip IV. it is agreed *quod piscatores utriusque partis poterint ubique ire navigare per mare, securè piscari, absque impedimento, licentia, seu salvo conductu.* And the Dutch in the time of Queen Elizabeth were never molested in the enjoyment of the same privileges.

There are two cases, however, on record, that would seem to establish the fact of a licensed fishery on the part of England. In the seventh year of King James I. 1600, a proclamation was published, inhibiting all persons of what nation or quality soever, not being

* Observations concerning the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Seas, composed by Sir Philip Meadows. *Pepysian Manuscripts.*

natural born subjects, from fishing upon any of the coasts and seas of Great Britain and Ireland, and the isles adjacent, without first obtaining licences from the king, or his commissioners, authorized in that behalf, which licences were to be renewed yearly. This royal edict, however, which further required a rateable composition to be paid into the exchequer, proportioned to the tonnage, seems altogether to have been disregarded by the continental states, whose subjects met with no difficulty in obtaining an indefinite liberty of fishing every where close upon the English shores, and even within its bays and havens, without the least fear of molestation, by the payment of some trifling fee or gratuity. A repetition of the proclamation by King Charles I. in 1636, with the view of establishing a claim to an appropriate fishery, met with no better success. The better to enforce this edict, the Duke of Northumberland, as admiral of the fleet, was sent into the North Sea to compel the Dutch fishermen to take licences, and to pay for the same, at a moderate rate, which they gladly accepted, to secure to themselves the benefit of the fishery without molestation; but the ambassador of the States General in England remonstrated against this unprecedented proceeding and disavowed the act of their fishermen. Henry IV. of France did, however, it seems, pay England the compliment of asking permission to fish for soles on the English banks for the use of his own table; and our own Henry VIII. condescended to renew a treaty which Henry VII. had made with John II. of Denmark, in which it was mutually covenanted that 'the liegemen, merchants and fishermen of England, should fish and traffic upon the Northern Sea, betwixt Norway and Iceland, but under a proviso of first asking leave, and renewing their licences from seven years to seven years, (de septennio in septennium,) from the kings of Denmark and Norway and their successors.'²

Next as to a limited fishery. This expedient has also been tried, but with no better success than a licensed one. The precise boundaries of that marine territory, which approximates to the dominions of any prince, have never been established by universal consent. It has been held indeed as a general maxim of national law, 'that he, who is lord of both banks, is lord of the intermediate channel;' but even this concession is subject to modification where that channel is the passage into open seas. Civilians unanimously agree as to the right of sea property, but differ as to the extent and quantity of that right. One living on the borders of the Atlantic, might with seeming propriety extend that right an hundred miles into the ocean; another dwelling on the shores of the Baltic or Mediterranean

* Sir P. Meadows, on the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Seas. *Peygian MSS.*
might.

might think twenty leagues of sufficient extent; another again might maintain, that so much of the sea appertains to the land, as a man can see over from the shore on a clear day; all these notions have in fact had their supporters. But as Sir Philip Meadows observes with regard to the last, 'if a man see from Dover to Calais, I suppose the like can be done from Calais to Dover; and whose shall the sea be betwixt?' The opinion of more modern writers on the law of nations seems to assign the distance of a cannon shot from any part of the shore as the extent of marine jurisdiction, or, as a general principle, that legal dominion of the sea should extend so far from the coast as the safety of the nation renders it necessary, and her power is able to assert.* The extent of the British seas has at all times been a fruitful theme of dispute and discussion with neighbouring nations. In the attempt to settle the honour of the flag between England and France, Richlieu proposed that French ships should strike the flag and lower the topsail to British ships in the English Channel when nearer to the English shore, and that British ships should strike to those of France when meeting nearer to the French coast. The Cinque ports considered their jurisdiction to extend half seas over: the Trinity house were of opinion that the British seas extended from Cape Finisterre to the middle of Van Statenland in Norway, and from thence northward of Scotland and the isles thereof. The Lords of the Admiralty having in 1712 called on Sir Charles Hedges, the judge of the Admiralty Court, for his opinion as to the extent of the British seas, he delivered it as follows, which our readers will perhaps be inclined to consider as that of a good courtier, rather than of a sound lawyer.

'1. I take it without any doubt that the four seas, namely, east, south, west and north, are within her Majesty's sea dominions, as Queen of Great Britain. 2. That the east and south parts of this dominion extend to the opposite shores, and if a line be drawn from Berwick to the Naze in Norway, and another from Cape Finisterre to Cape Clear, or the most western point of land in Ireland, I conceive the space within those lines has been always reputed a part of the British seas; but I cannot say this is the utmost extent of them southward, there being some opinions that carry them farther. 3. If a line be drawn from the north Foreland to Calais, and another from the islands of Scilly to Ushant, I think the space between those lines and the opposite shores describe that part of the British seas called the Channel; and the other space from the Channel to the Naze is called the German ocean.' After describing the seas of Scotland and Ireland, he goes on to say that 'if the British domi-

* Vattel,

nion may be extended as far from the Irish shores to the westward in any proportion that the ocean bears to the Mediterranean, the Gulph of Venice, the Euxine, Sound, Belt or White Sea, which are possessed by several princes or states, who restrain those respective dominions; the Queen of Great Britain may take in many more leagues than any of them do miles; or, if they claim by virtue of being possessed of opposite shores, her Majesty may, by the same rule, claim the western ocean beyond Ireland.* When Sir William Temple boasted that by the treaty concluded in 1673, between King Charles II and the States General, the flag was carried to all the height his Majesty could wish, because it was stipulated in the 4th article of that treaty, 'that the States General of the United Provinces, in due acknowledgment on their part of the King of Great Britain's right to have his flag respected in any of the seas from Cape Finisterre to the middle point of the land Van Staten in Norway, agree, &c. that their ships shall strike their flag and lower their topsail, &c. Sir Philip Meadows asked, 'what has England to do with the bay of Biscay or sea of Norway? From Cape Finisterre to Van Staten is a greater stride than the British seas, (as in former treaties the article stood,) but then it weakens our standing. The limits fixed between the two capes are too wide for dominion, too narrow for respect. The crown of England claims no dominion in any seas but the British only, yet it claims respect every where and in all seas.†

More moderate as well as more rational were the ideas of King James I. as to sea dominion and marine jurisdiction. It appears from Selden, that in the year 1504, the second of his reign, he caused twelve sworn men well skilled in maritime affairs to trace out on a map the sea coasts of England, on which were drawn straight lines from one promontory or headland to another, and all that was intercepted and included within these lines was called the king's chambers and royal ports. With this sea chart was published a royal proclamation, in which they are stiled 'the places of the king's dominion and jurisdiction.' Sir Leonine Jenkins calls them 'those ancient sanctuaries where by the law all merchantmen are in safeguard, and all hostilities whatsoever are to cease, and where all parties, though in enmity with one another, are equally to pay a reverence to, and enjoy the benefit of, his Majesty's protection.'

This act of King James has been considered as impolitic, because it implied that he had no right, or, if he had, that he relinquished it altogether, beyond that boundary. It was soon evident however, that he had no intention to limit his right of the fisheries within such narrow bounds, as we have already seen by his pro-

* Admiralty Records.

† Letter from Sir P. Meadows to Mr. Secretary Pepys. *Pepysian Papers.*
clamation

clamation five years afterwards, prohibiting foreigners from fishing on any of the coasts and seas of Great Britain and Ireland without a licence. In fact, in the very same year that he caused the said sea-chart to be drawn, the commissioners appointed to conclude an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, among other things concerning the trade, mutually agreed 'that the fishing within the friths and bays of Scotland and in the seas within fourteen miles distance from the coasts of that realm, where neither English nor other strangers have used to fish, should be reserved and appropriated to Scotchmen only; and reciprocally Scotchmen to abstain from fishing within the like distances off the coasts of England.' In the same reign, Lord Carlton, the English ambassador at the Hague, was informed, that a communication had been made to the United States commissioners in London, that their subjects would then and in future be prohibited from fishing within fourteen miles of his Majesty's coasts.* The Dutch however paid little attention to this notice. They out-numbered us in their merchant shipping in the proportion of 10 to 1,† and their navy as to number and tonnage was far superior to ours. It was manifest indeed that they were determined to try with us a vigorous contest for naval superiority, and King James did not find it prudent to provoke it at that time.

Since then no good precedent can be advanced to establish the right of Great Britain to impose on her opposite neighbours either a limited or a licenced fishery, even in her own seas, the obvious policy on her part would be that of forming a numerous and expert body of fishermen, while the war continues, which has given us the unrivalled commerce of the world, as we have long been the uncontrouled masters of the sea. We know of no other effectual mode of retarding the progress of the enemy in a rivalry of the fisheries, than that of a prior occupation of them; for, peace once restored, in vain we should endeavour to exclude them from our fishing grounds; the very attempt to do it would involve us in endless disputes and difficulties. If, in the midst of war, we are so indulgent or so indifferent as to permit them to fish half Channel over, they will not scruple to visit our bays and harbours in time of peace. We permit even to our enemies the enjoyment of a benefit which, under a change of circumstances, they would peremptorily refuse to us. We allow them to come out and fish without molestation, notwithstanding that fishery not only feeds their markets, but supplies their blockaded fleets with a succession of seamen—almost the only seamen whom they have the opportunity of making.

* Sir P. Meadows on the Sovereignty of the Seas. *Pepysian MS.*

† Hume.

We did indeed, on one occasion, seize some fifteen or sixteen of the Dutch schuyts, because, on the loss of the *Flora* frigate in 1808, the surrounding fishing boats, instead of assisting the sufferers, inhumanly made away from the wreck and left them to perish; about the same time too the Dutch had broken a cartel which they had concluded with Great Britain. But what was the consequence? The Dutch fishermen found in our easy philanthropy an amnesty for the loss of those brave men of the *Flora*, who had perished through their inhumanity; the schuyts and fishermen were restored, the order rescinded, and the Dutch fish as before without molestation.

The immense advantages to be derived from establishing a national fishery on a grand scale, must plead our excuse for extending the present article to so great a length. Happy shall we be if we have succeeded in drawing the attention of those to the subject, through whose influence and exertions alone those advantages can be obtained.

ART. II. *An Essay towards a Theory of Apparitions.* By John Ferriar, M. D.

THE observation of Dr. Johnson, that the belief in apparitions could become universal only by its truth, and that those who deny it with their tongues, confess it with their fears, has perhaps received more consideration than it is fairly entitled to. The last remark will not carry very far at any rate, nor is it of much avail even in the very small extent to which it is applicable; for the fear of ghosts may well survive the belief in them, and is much oftener the effect of habit, than the result of conviction. It was said of a certain officer, the early part of whose life had been passed in extraordinary shifts and distresses, that a reverse of fortune, which brought plenty and ease, never could put him above the fear of bailiffs, at sight of whom he invariably fled; and it may perhaps be averred that there scarcely lives a person who does not retain a more or less painful impression from some danger which no longer exists. The first part of the sentence has however more weight, and though the universality of the creed respecting spirits cannot be argued as a proof of their visitation, it at least proves the existence of some universal causes, which must have led to such a belief. A discussion of these forms the subject of the work at present under our consideration.

The author prefaces it by declaring that he is about to open a new and unbeaten field to the composer of romance, and to present an effectual antidote to the terrors of the ghost-seer, assuring those
whom

whom he invites to his 'enchanted castle' that the door will not be opened to them 'by a grinning demon, but by a very civil person in a black cap.' Instead however of ushering in his guests with the method and solemnity, which such a description implies, he has scarcely admitted them before away goes this grave personage with a hop, step and a jump, which might almost baffle the activity of Mr. Scott's goblin-page. We will tax our muscles to accompany him in elasticity and irregularity of movement. He begins by allowing that impressions have been made upon the senses of persons of credit, which were apparently præternatural;—that by such 'the forms of the dead and the absent have been seen and their voices have been heard.' Proposing to explain these reputed prodigies by physical means, he states it to be a known fact that, in cases of delirium and insanity, spectral delusions take place and often continue during several days; but says it has not been generally noticed that similar effects may have been produced by a partial and undetected affection of the brain. Deducing all fantastic apparitions from this source, he, for greater perspicuity, as he states, distributes his matter under the three following divisions:—1st. The general law of the system to which spectral impressions may be referred; 2d, the proof of the existence of morbid impressions of this nature without any sensible external agency; 3d, the application of these principles to the best authenticated histories of apparitions,' but he soon loses sight of his arrangement.

Having thus announced the plan of the author, we shall follow him as we can; but feel that we give no very favourable earnest of our activity by being stopped, at the very threshold, by this bold proposition. 'It is a well known law of the human economy, that the impressions produced on some of the external senses, especially on the eye, are more durable than the application of the impressing cause.' The author first illustrates this position by the description of a faculty, which he had himself possessed, in his youth, of recalling, in the dark, any interesting object that he had seen in the course of the day, and colouring the copy with all the brilliancy and force of the original; and then in confirmation of his system, cites an insinuation of Dr. Darwin in his *Zoonomia*, that this error, like the deceptions of perspective, is only corrected by experience. To this principle he attributes dreams, the supposed spectacles exhibited in the aurora borealis, and other natural illusions, illustrated by different examples. But were the impression made upon the organs of sight not, what it certainly is, a mere repetition, effected we know not how, through the force of imagination, but, in fact, permanent, and only corrected by experience; we should perceive in children the first dawn and progress of observation, as well with respect to this, as to the illusions of perspective, the process of which is easily traced.

traced. Were the impression, of which the author treats, other than imaginary, why need he have resorted to a dark room in order to renew the images with which he had been previously amused? These would have been still visible, according to his theory, (unless he means to argue yet more whimsically, that this uneffaced picture of things once seen operates to the exclusion of what is before our eyes,) though confused with the objects of his immediate view. He would have enjoyed his romantic prospects in mid-day and in a garret; the only inconvenience might have been the having his green fields dotted with a tester bed, high-back chairs and bureaux.* This principle too is insufficient, as he afterwards virtually admits, to the establishment of his system respecting apparitions; for those who have sleeping or waking dreams, do not only copy, they imitate and compound. We confess that we have the more delight in battering this new and extraordinary proposition, because we think the doctrine singularly uncomfortable. Other 'of the external senses,' we are informed, may be capable of this real secondary affection. Now though there are many impressions which all would willingly reproduce, we believe that no one covets a second edition of squalls and broken bones. *Vous ne devez pas dire que vous avez reçu des coups de bâton, mais qu'il vous semble d'en avoir reçu*, may be a very unsatisfactory suggestion to a man who has been just cudgelled, but it is more cruel, and not a whit more philosophical, after admitting his first misfortune, to persuade him that it will be renewed at a time when there is not a twig in sight, or an arm to brandish one; especially if he has not been bastinadoed often enough for him to have corrected this impression by dint of experience. Such is the consolation afforded by 'a very civil person,' who professes to annihilate the tyranny of the imagination.

The manager, having now explained the nature of his machinery, draws up the curtain and exhibits his phantasmagoria, which presents us with legions of spirits, black, white, blue and grey. One trick in the puppetshow deserves to be recorded. One of the mortal dramatis personæ in imagination swallows the devil; a case which, in our opinion, should be referred to a confused association of ideas. From the most generous motives 'he resisted,' says Dr. Ferriar, 'the calls of nature during several days, lest he should set the *foul fiend* at liberty. I overcame his resolution, however,' he adds, 'by

* We do not mean to deny the retina, in some cases, retaining, for a few seconds, the impressions which it has received; but we deny the extent in which this fact has been maintained, and the inferences which have been drawn from it. Such instances are, we believe, rare, and usually considered by medical men as arising from some debility, or morbid affection of the organ.

administering an emetic in his food.' Another case of a young lady, who was accompanied by her own apparition, may be ascribed to the author's own principle of insanity, as she may certainly be pronounced to have been *beside herself*.

Taking a large skip here, amongst other impediments, over lycanthropia, (in which the patient imagines himself to have become a wolf, 'an impression,' we are told, 'which has, no doubt, been produced or strengthened by narcotic potions of hyoscyamus and datura stramonium,' query, wolf's bane?) for we find that we cannot leap fair with the author, we find ourselves, amongst accessory causes of delusion, with respect to spectres, followed, as usual, by stories more or less apposite. One of them, that of M. Bezuel and M. Desfontaines, is extremely curious. These two, when boys, the eldest, M. Bezuel, being only fifteen, made a compact, which, for greater solemnity, they signed with their blood, engaging that whichever died first should visit the survivor. They were soon afterwards separated, and, at the end of two years, the agreement was fulfilled by M. Desfontaines, who had been drowned near Caen, and who appeared, on the succeeding day, to his friend. The circumstances which preceded this visitation are particularly worthy of attention. Bezuel was amusing himself one day in hay-making at a certain M. de Sortoville's, when he was seized with a fainting fit, which was succeeded by a restless night. He experienced a second fit, in the same meadow, on the following day, attended with the same consequences. Again on the third day, while on the hay-stack, he experienced a similar attack, and this was a prelude to the ghost, &c. He tells the story himself.

'I fell into a swoon; one of the footmen perceived it and called out for help. They recovered me a little, but my mind was more disordered than it had been before. I was told that they asked me what ailed me, and that I answered, "I have seen what I thought I should never see." But I neither remember the question nor the answer. However, it agrees with what I remember I saw then, a naked man, in half length, but I knew him not. They helped me to go down the ladder, but, because I saw Desfontaines at the bottom, I had again a fainting fit: my head got between two stairs, and I again lost my senses. They let me down, and set me on a large beam, which served for a seat in the great *Place des Capucins*. I sat upon it, and then no longer saw M. de Sortoville nor his servants, though they were present; and perceiving Desfontaines near the foot of the ladder, who made me a sign to come to him, I went back upon my seat, as it were to make room for him, and those who saw me, and whom I did not see, observed that motion.'

He proceeds to state, that the apparition took him by the arm and conducted him into a bye lane, where he conversed with him for nearly three quarters of an hour, and informed him of all the particulars of his death, which had taken place, as was before stated,

stated, on the preceding day. All saw him walk away; and M. de Sortoville and his footboy heard him speaking in the manner of one who was asking and answering questions. All this time, however, his spiritual companion was invisible but to himself. Their intercourse was repeated more than once. That the fainting fits were the cause of this illusion there can be no doubt, and Dr. Ferriar informs us, speaking from his own experience, 'that the approach of syncope is sometimes attended with a spectral appearance;' but it is seldom that an opportunity can be afforded, as in the present instance, of watching the gradual concoction of a ghost. The appearance of Desfontaines, like the first crude apparition seen by Bezuel, was only a half length, and this mode of seeing spirits by halves appears more general than we should have supposed; for we are told, in another place, that two old ladies, who were inhabitants of antient castles, comparing notes respecting their different residences, one of them averred that hers was haunted by the appearance of the upper part of a human figure, a piece of intelligence which was received with great apparent satisfaction by the other, inasmuch as it explained to her why her mansion was visited only by the lower half. It does not appear that they resorted to the obvious expedient of tossing up *heads or tails* for double or quits. Dr. Ferriar, however, who has served up every variety of spectre, has, in addition to these semi-goblins, furnished us with an instance of a double phantom, or rather a sort of polypus ghost. We extract the story, which is taken from Lucian, as furnishing a new and amusing theory of the division of labour.

'Eucrates says that he became acquainted in Egypt with Pancrates, who had resided twenty years in the subterraneous recesses, where he had learned magic from Isis herself. "At length," he states, "he persuaded me to leave all my servants at Memphis, and to follow him alone, telling me that we should not be at a loss for attendants. When we came into any inn, he took a wooden pin, latch, or bolt, and wrapping it in some clothes, when he had repeated a verse over it, he made it walk and appear a man to every one. This creature went about, prepared supper, laid the cloth, and waited upon us very dexterously. Then, when we had no further occasion for it, by repeating another verse, he turned it into a pin, latch, or bolt, again. He refused to impart the secret of this incantation to me, though very obliging in every thing else. But having hid myself one day in a dark corner, I caught the first verse, which consisted of three syllables. After he had given his orders to the pin, he went into the market place. Next day, in his absence, I took the pin, dressed it up, and repeating those syllables, ordered it to fetch some water. When it had brought a full jar, I cried "Stop, draw no more water, but be a pin again." It was in vain, however, that he reiterated the command of *as you were*, the perverse pin continued his employment till he had nearly filled the house. "I, not able to endure this obstinacy, (continues Eucrates,) and fearing the

the return of my companion, lest he should be displeased, seized a hatchet and split the pin in two pieces. But each part, taking up a jar, ran to draw more water, so that I had now two servants in place of one. In the mean time Pancrates returned, and, understanding the matter, changed them into wood again, as they were before the incantation."

The author having, at last, dismissed his shadows, sums up his evidence by the declaration that the facts which he has stated have afforded to himself a satisfactory explanation of all difficulties respecting what he terms spectral appearances; he calls upon the physician and philosopher to examine such cases with accuracy instead of regarding them either with terror or contempt, 'and to ascertain their exact relation to the state of the brain and of the external senses;' he observes, that were this done, 'the appearance of a ghost would be regarded as of little more consequence than a head-ache,' and finally congratulates himself on having 'released the reader of history from the embarrassment of rejecting evidence in some of the plainest narratives, or of experiencing uneasy doubts when the solution might be rendered perfectly simple,' and thus he reconducts his guests to the entrance of his enchanted castle.

'Prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburnâ.'

We fear that the doctor's nostrum will not turn out the perfect specific he imagines.

*'O vous qui craignez tant les esprits,
Et qui les craignez sans y croire,'*

may, as we have before stated our opinion, be applied to the largest class of those for whom he prescribes. On these all medicine will be thrown away; their morbid propensities must be left to wear themselves out, or if any potion can avail, it is a disease wherein the patient must minister to himself. There is, however, another description of actual, or possible, ghost-seers, who might, perhaps, profit by such a discussion of the subject; but this determined assailant of the world of phantoms has left unattempted the two strongest works, behind which they may intrench themselves. Every one who has experienced a violent nervous attack, or witnessed the effect of it on others, and indeed every one who has had the nightmare in daylight, must, if they think at all, have found in such causes an explanation of ghosts, and will have easily conceived to themselves a more diseased state of organs, which might represent phantoms more vivid, more precisely figured, and more permanent than those with which they have been visited. But the difficulties with regard to accepting this, as a general solution of the mystery, are, first, the evidence we have of more persons than one having witnessed these appearances; and, next, that of some event, which could

could not, by natural means, be known at the time, having been thus manifested; a circumstance which appears at once to explain the cause and to attest the truth of such a visitation. These two defences are, however, certainly more assailable from the previous demolition of the outworks which surrounded them.

The great point to be considered with regard to the supposed verification of ghosts by the testimony of more than one person is, that if we give the witnesses credit for being honest, it would be going much too far to allow them to be unprejudiced. In the great majority of cases of this description which are in circulation, it is to be observed, that the minds of those who have seen such sights, were prepared for the reception of the wonderful by circumstances either of time, place, or conversation. Men, in this situation, resemble instruments tuned to the same pitch, which, if a note of one be struck, will repeat the sound on a corresponding string. The following story may serve as an illustration. A traveller in the east found himself in a village where there was a great outcry against vampires. It may be necessary to premise, that the vampire of spectral history is a dead body which has the privilege of sucking the blood of the living. So universal was the belief that the magistrates granted a general search warrant, and the traveller accompanied a great number of the inhabitants to the churchyard for the purpose of putting it into execution. The grave of a person suspected was opened in his presence, and while he saw nothing but a putrid and macerated carcass, the rest beheld, in the same object, freshness of complexion, and corpulence, in short, all the known indicia of the delinquent's profession, and were much inclined to give the dissentient an opportunity of practising it, in his own person, for obstinately maintaining his opinion. Here all the assistants but the stranger were predisposed to belief; but it may be shewn, by another instance, that the imagination of one person will reflect the images represented by that of another, even where it has not been previously wrought upon and prepared for such an impression. A modern poet who, though he has exercised a powerful command over the world of spirits, is certainly free from superstition, accompanied a friend one evening to a place in Edinburgh, where they sold oysters. They were shewn into an inner room, and sat down to table. Here they were joined, as they believed, by an unknown person, whom neither of them knew; but it is to be remarked, that his appearance was unaccompanied by any circumstances of terror. He neither swallowed his oysters, shell and all, or did any thing which could subject him to suspicion. They lost sight of him they knew not how; and on going into the next room and inquiring about their uninvited guest, were assured by those who had remained there during the whole time they

they were within, that no one had passed through that apartment, which afforded the only means of access to their own. It may, perhaps, be objected to any inference drawn from this anecdote, that the imagination of the two gentlemen in question had probably been warmed with wine. Perhaps so: but *le peril monte la tête comme le vin*, says Madame de Staël, and fear is as quickly communicated as an electric shock. We may also consider optical deceptions, which have been generally mentioned by Dr. Ferriar amongst the causes of ghost-seeing, as one explanation of these better attested stories; but they are of much too rare occurrence to be admitted as a universal solvent of apparitions.

With respect to the second class of spiritual anecdotes, which includes all accounts of visitations, where some event appears to coincide with the spectacle represented by the imagination, we must recollect that we hear only of those where the result corresponds with its supposed signification; the thousand instances in which it does not, are never communicated. A young man, a writer in India, is surprised by the appearance of his mother (whom he had left in England) bathed in tears. He conceives this to be an intimation of his father's death, communicates what he has seen to a friend, and this person, under the idea of giving him a lesson against credulity in the future disproof of his fears, desires him to make an entry of all the circumstances in his pocket-book. The sensible intention of this friend is disappointed by the verification of the vision. Take, on the other hand, a story which may well weigh against the preceding. Three brothers, out of four, sleeping in the same room, when boys, dream that their father is dangerously ill, or dead, yet nothing had passed which might naturally have suggested to them so painful an idea. His death would have been but one wonder the more, but he long survived the triple omen by which it was apparently figured. The fact is, whimsical combinations are continually taking place, which, when they involve nothing which savours of a ghost, we are content to consider as the effect of what is called chance; if they do, we must cut the knot in one case as well as in the other. Many of these are as much out of the reach of calculation as any story of second sight. We take one as an instance. A short time ago, a seaman, belonging to the *Arrogant*, died, and the wages due to him were claimed by his brother, named John Carr, living at No. 4, Spicer Street, Shadwell. On inquiry, however, it was found that Mary Carr, his sister, residing at Lowth, in Ireland, had been appointed his executrix. Orders were given for sending her the papers necessary to her receiving whatever might be due; but these were, by some mistake, forwarded to the direction of the first claimant, at No. 4, Spicer Street, Shadwell. In this street there were two Nos. 4,
and

and at one of these actually dwelt another woman of the name of Mary Carr, who, having possessed herself of the papers, attended at the Navy Pay Office, and received the money.

Still we have not traced the illusion to its source: if we have explained the causes which have fortified, or appeared to prove the truth of this belief, it is more difficult to explain how the mind first acquired it,—how it first came by the idea of a ghost; and unless we were prepared to argue that this is innate, we know but one solution of the difficulty, which is the supposing it to spring out of the universal belief in the immortality of the soul; whether this be a traditional fragment of revelation, or an induction formed from dreams. To these the savage always ascribes divinity. The Indian, therefore, whose imagination first represented to him, in sleep, the image of a deceased friend, though, in his dream, he might imagine him still alive, would, on waking, conceive his apparition to have been indicatory of another state of existence. Respecting the ready adoption of the creed, we shall find no difficulty, when we consider how universally our hopes and fears rest upon a world beyond our own; and, perhaps, there is no more striking proof of the predisposition of the human mind to that weakness, which forms the subject of the present essay, than the instinctive dread of darkness, remarkable in children, who have escaped the taint of nursery superstition. The gloom of itself seems to dispose the mind to melancholy, and a vague feeling of insecurity leads the imagination to people it with such terrors as it can furnish and dress up, out of its preconceived ideas. A father and mother, who had taken every possible precaution to preserve an infant daughter from all the horrors of the church-yard, observed in her an evident apprehension of being alone in the dark. They naturally concluded that their care had been fruitless, but, on examining into the object of her fear, she confessed that this was no other than ‘*Ell-wide*.’ She had heard the word used by her mother, and, not knowing that the said *Ell-wide* was ‘base and mechanical,’ being struck with the majesty of the name, and receiving ‘*ignotum pro magnifico*,’ had adopted him as an object of respect, precisely upon the same principle on which the late worthy member for Sussex cheered, at the bare mention of the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia.

But we feel that we have caught the contagion of story-telling; we have been too long occupied in this Σχισημαχία, we willingly drop our weapons, and retire from the contest.

ART. III. *Correspondence of the late Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. with the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox, in the Years 1796—1801, chiefly on Subjects of Classical Literature.* 8vo. pp. 232. London; Cadell & Davies; Edinburgh, Blackwood; Dublin, Keene. 1813.

THE diffusion of wealth, literature, and curiosity; the increased disposition to read, and the increased ability to buy books, have not only added to the number and fertility of living writers, but have also occasioned the press to groan under a vast additional load of posthumous publications. No sooner does an eminent person die, than his scrutoire is ransacked, and his friends are solicited for materials to make a volume. His works are sought for with almost as much regularity as his last will and testament; and by the time the latter has been proved at Doctor's Commons, the former are almost ready to appear in Paternoster-row. Nor is this process applicable to professed writers alone. A few sketches, or hints, or a fragment found in his port-folio, or verses ascribed to him; or, if none of these things exist, the never-failing resource of his correspondence, by the kindness of friends, and the diligence of publishers, is quite sufficient to raise a man after his death to the dignity of an author who, in his whole life, never entertained any settled thoughts of becoming one. This practice is not unattended by advantages. It adds to the public stock of harmless amusement. It often preserves important facts, and sometimes even rescues valuable compositions from oblivion. Besides, it gives us a deeper insight into human nature, by exhibiting to us nearer at hand, and at moments of carelessness and confidence, those persons, whom we had been accustomed to admire at a distance, when veiled by prudence, and protected by forms. On the other hand, it must be owned, that it not only ministers to a laudable desire for knowledge, but tends, quite as much, to gratify that low illiberal curiosity which is nourished by idle anecdotes of private life, and that malignant enviousness which comforts itself for the general superiority of great men, by contemplating their weaknesses and defects. Perhaps, after all, it is more for our advantage to maintain inviolate the respect due to the best specimens of our nature, than risk it by unnecessary disclosures—to embalm the illustrious dead, than deliver them over to the dissector for the sake of throwing new lights upon the intellectual anatomy of man. All indeed would be well, if the task of selecting from posthumous papers were performed with honesty, and with tolerable discretion; but in nine instances out of ten we have to lament a failure on one side or the other, and the reputation of the dead is sacrificed to the imprudence, vanity, or rapaciousness of the living.

The fate of Mr. Fox, in this respect, has always appeared to us

peculiarly hard. He left behind him a reputation to which none but the very highest excellence in literature could have added. It was a reputation which not even his bitterest enemies ventured to call into question. The feelings of political animosity seemed overcome by a generous sentiment of exultation in that genius and eloquence which added perceptibly to the stock—great as it is, of English glory. His whole conduct, and some points of his character, were the subject of endless dispute, but his talents were left to be estimated by the zeal of his followers, and if the ‘*Historical Fragment*’ had never seen the light, they might without much contradiction have indulged themselves in triumphantly conjecturing ‘how well he would have written had not politics and pleasure denied him leisure for literary pursuits.’ But the work appeared, and at once precluded all such speculation, by as great a disappointment as ever occurred in the literary history of the world. It failed instantly and totally. The partiality of friends, and the magic of a great name were unable to sustain it for a single day. Yet no book was ever more fairly dealt by. The public was certainly desirous to admire it if that had been possible; Mr. Fox’s political adversaries were not active in decrying it; his followers shewed a decent regard to his memory by praising it at the risk of their own character for taste. The sages of the north too did their duty without shrinking, and boldly proclaimed a new era in our literature. But all efforts were fruitless. The defects were too striking to be concealed or extenuated; and in the work of an author who (as we were told) had formed so high a notion of the dignity and simplicity of history—a work upon which he had bestowed so much time and so much anxious care—for which journeys had been undertaken, and libraries searched, the public were astonished to find a style inaccurate, though laboured, cold at once and declamatory; and the narrative of events more than a century old deeply tinctured with the prejudices of his own age and his own party.

In some instances too, the tendency of the work is such as we should have been better prepared to meet with in the writer of a German drama than of an English history. Without entering into any discussion of Mr. Fox’s political opinions, we may be allowed to complain when they evidently interfere with the just appreciation of character, and the very sense of right and wrong. It is impossible to read the sentimental story of Monmouth, (upon which Mr. Fox has put forth all his strength,) without being persuaded that in the estimation of the writer, disloyalty, like charity, is a merit of so transcendent a kind, that it may serve to cover almost every sin. Monmouth was, even to his last moments, singularly disregarding of the obligations and even the decencies of domestic

domestic life; his understanding was feeble, and he wanted even courage, the only virtue that can throw lustre upon the character of a weak man engaged in great transactions. Mr. Fox endeavours to make of him a sort of hero of romance; and the fate of this unfortunate but guilty person, excites in his breast, at the distance of four generations, a more tender sympathy than he ever deigned to express for the whole clergy and nobility of the most ancient civilized monarchy in the world, plundered, exiled, and butchered, in his own time, and almost before his own eyes. Not that we are inclined to consider coldly such an event as Monmouth's execution, or to censure the emotions of a generous pity. But Mr. Fox evidently feels for him a greater interest than belongs to his character, or even to his misfortunes. He extenuates his failings not only with that indulgence which flows from a just and humane consideration of the infirmities of our common nature, but with the affectionate eagerness of a partizan.

We have always regretted that the publication of this unfortunate work was not prevented by the exercise of a sounder discretion in his surviving friends. It diminished the reputation of a great man, without (so far at least as we are aware) any one advantage beyond the mere gratification of public curiosity to compensate for the loss. If, indeed, Mr. Fox had already appeared before the world with distinction as an author; if, like the great man whose disciple he once boasted himself to be, his literary had corresponded to his political fame, the mischief of publishing even the 'Historical Work,' would have been comparatively small. The failure of a single posthumous performance would have signified little when the public judgment had already been fixed by happier efforts. From that nothing could be inferred, but that Mr. Fox, in common with many other eminent persons, was not able to command his own talents equally at all times, and on all subjects. Unfortunately, however, his whole character as a writer has been staked upon one performance, which can attract notice only by its astonishing disproportion to the talents of him who produced it; and one of the greatest English orators and statesmen is introduced into the world of literature only to take his place in the inferior classes of English authors. We think it hard upon the memory of so great a man as Mr. Fox to place him in a point of view in which he must appear decidedly inferior to those that are the natural objects of comparison with him. Equal, in the judgment of his contemporaries, to Bolingbroke or to Burke, he ought not to have appeared as an author at all, except in some work which would have placed him by their side, in the first ranks of literary fame. It may be said that great indulgence is due to an unfinished posthumous performance,

published without the consent of the author. To this we answer, in the first place, that such an appeal to the candour of the world is always a little hazardous. People are apt to judge of a thing as they find it, and without sufficient consideration of the circumstances under which it appears. Such indulgence too was less likely to be shewn to a work which was announced with something of confidence and parade, which so far from deprecating criticism seemed to challenge no slight or vulgar praise. An unusually long approach prepared us for the beginnings, at least, of a magnificent building. We were unavoidably led to expect something of power and effect. It was ushered into public notice, as if it were destined '*labenti succurrere sæclo*,' to begin a reformation in politics and literature—to recal our style and our principles to the ancient standard of purity. Expectations such as these once imprudently excited, it is not easy to satisfy, and not safe to disappoint; and when lofty pretensions have been once advanced and rejected, it is too late to take the benefit of that tone of apology and extenuation which, if earlier employed, might have obtained for the work a more favourable reception.

We think too, that Mr. Fox's friends would have done well to recollect, that the lapse of years naturally tends to regulate the public judgment of his talents more by his writings, and less by every other criterion. As a statesman he was never long enough in power to accomplish any measures that could carry his name with glory down to posterity. His talents as an orator form his great and undisputed title to fame. But of his speeches no full authentic record remains. The generation that witnessed his astonishing genius for debate, will soon have passed away, and the warmth of their enthusiasm will be but feebly reflected upon the minds of their posterity. 'How much more then would you have been affected if you had heard him?' said *Æschines*. But *Demosthenes* had lost nothing except the advantage of his own delivery; Mr. Fox will have lost every thing, and his reputation for eloquence will stand upon the mutilated fragments in the newspaper reports, and the suffrage of his contemporaries. It is no doubt true, that in a free and powerful country, at an enlightened period, to have remained for five-and-thirty years in a great popular assembly without a superior, and with only one equal, is a proof of talent, such as no reasonable man in any age will feel inclined to contest. But after all, 'distinction,' 'superiority,' 'excellence,' are only relative terms, and are applied at different times with equal confidence and enthusiasm to express very different degrees of real positive merit. The value of contemporary admiration must depend on the character of the age; and, even on the most favourable supposition, something

something may be allowed for fashion, accident, prejudice, and the peculiar taste of the times. How much ought in justice to be ascribed to these causes it is never very easy, and becomes every day more difficult to ascertain. Where, if we may so express ourselves, an opinion is to be pronounced upon an opinion, in order to get at the ultimate object of judgment, the whole subject is involved in considerable obscurity. Men are naturally disposed to fly from these uncertainties—from traditionary veneration, and the eulogies bestowed by their progenitors upon the heroes of their own day, to some surer and more authentic measure of positive excellence. And if such a criterion actually exists, a *monumentum literis mandatum*, in which the man speaks for himself, something that they can see with their own eyes, and not through the magnifying halo of contemporary prejudices, it will have a great, perhaps an undue influence upon their opinions. Its proximity, and distinctness, render its effect equal to that of weightier, but more distant objects. Now this is just the evil we apprehend from the ill-advised publication of Mr. Fox's History. When posterity observe both from the part he played, and from the unanimous suffrages, so far as they can be collected, of all those that flourished along with him, how high was that station which he held among the great men of his own time; and when, on the other hand, they read this work, and form upon it that judgment which is, we believe, already, with but little variation, the judgment of all tolerably impartial persons, we are not without apprehension that they will transfer, in some degree, their opinion of the writer, to the orator and politician, and conclude, however erroneously, that Mr. Fox, though an able, was an over-rated man. And this is a conclusion from which they cannot possibly escape, except by a fair re-consideration of the various and weighty testimony in his favour, both external and internal, and by a more just and philosophical allowance than is generally made, for the mortifying inequalities of human genius. We are sure that any attempt to uphold the work, (besides its probable insincerity,) is only calculated to do harm to the memory of Mr. Fox. Our approbation of it could only serve to persuade future generations of our utter want of impartiality, and by that means shake their confidence in all our other judgments upon him. We must give up his History, if it is only for the sake of preserving unimpaired his other titles to glory; and the justice of our general admiration of him may be vindicated, by calling to mind, that all his fame as a statesman could not save him from entire failure as a writer.

We have been led to these remarks by the appearance of the Correspondence betwixt Mr. Fox and Mr. Gilbert Wakefield. It is certainly not liable to the objections we have just been stating to the

the publication of his *History*. Mr. Fox is not presented to the world in the light of a professed author. The only question that those who sanctioned the publication had to determine was, whether or not these letters, written hastily, and without the remotest thought of their ever being submitted to the eye of the world, are such as do honour to the memory of an illustrious statesman? and we are clearly of opinion, that they were right to decide it in the affirmative. Some letters upon the same subjects printed at the end of Mr. Trotter's *Life*, and which indeed formed the only valuable part of that publication, had inspired us with a wish to see more, and we are happy to find that the materials existed for gratifying it.

The letters now before us are chiefly employed upon some of the nice points of Greek criticism, but they derive their interest, not from the light they throw upon the questions relative to the 'digamma,' and the 'final ν ,' but from the portraits they give, in some features most amusingly contrasted, of Mr. Wakefield and of his illustrious correspondent.

Gilbert Wakefield, as most of our readers are probably aware, was known to the world partly as editor of several classical works, partly as an author of several ill-tempered, ill-written, and injudicious pamphlets on political subjects. He was a commentator of the old school, learned, laborious, peevish, insolent, presumptuous, and never meddling with matters of taste but to shew how completely nature had denied him that faculty. In religion he was bred a sectarian of the Hackney school, but we understand, that, for the latter part of his life, he belonged to no congregation whatever, and the form of Christianity he professed was peculiar to himself. He had early imbibed the principles of the French Revolution in all their ferociousness, extravagance and absurdity, and he adhered to them with primitive zeal, long after the horrors to which they had given birth had frightened half their original converts back into reason. In short he was a 'vir clarissimus,' grafted upon the crab-stock of a Jacobin dissenter—a sort of septembrizing Gronovius—better fitted indeed for grammar than for politics, but carrying into both a spirit of insolent dogmatism and precipitate innovation.

The bond of connection betwixt this singular personage and Mr. Fox was natural enough. Mr. Fox's thirst after classical learning made him desirous to engage in correspondence with so eminent a scholar, and Gilbert Wakefield was no less eager to cultivate an acquaintance with Mr. Fox under the pleasing idea of his being a Jacobin—an error of which it must be owned Mr. Fox did not take much pains to cure him. The correspondence once begun

continued

continued at intervals for about five years, and until near Mr. Wakefield's death, though it does not appear that there was ever any personal acquaintance between them. In point of learning the advantage was (as may be easily imagined) on the side of Mr. Wakefield. The study of the classical writers had been the great business of his life, and as his memory was tenacious, and his industry unremitting, he had gained a very extensive acquaintance with ancient literature. Mr. Fox, when a boy, had been remarkable for his classical attainments, and he preserved through life a strong relish for the Greek and Roman writers. His more active employments, however, had left him but little leisure for such pursuits, and till about the time at which his correspondence with Mr. Wakefield commenced, he had done little more than keep up his Eton stock by occasional and desultory reading. He was an elegant, but time had not allowed him to become a profound scholar, and he writes to Mr. Wakefield with the unaffected modesty of a person who seeks to be instructed, and who is not at all desirous to conceal from his instructor the extent of his own deficiencies. He speaks of himself as unacquainted with several authors that are commonly enough read, even by those that are not considered as deeply learned. Of Apollonius Rhodius he had seen nothing but the extracts in the Eton selection; and we find him inquiring after an edition of Aristophanes in a way which shews that he had but recently begun to cultivate an acquaintance with the Greek theatre. But whatever Mr. Fox wants in learning, as compared with his correspondent, he makes up in taste, and in the power of reasoning; two qualities, particularly that of reasoning, in which Mr. Wakefield was as much below, as the other was above the common run of mankind. In this way the balance is more than restored, and it is curious to observe, how his acute and accurate understanding, operating upon comparatively scanty materials, enables him, upon points where they differed, to contend with advantage against an adversary whose mind was stored with facts he was incapable of arranging, and premises from which he knew not how to elicit the proper conclusions.

Mr. Wakefield was an honest and strictly moral man, but he had the misfortune to be peevish, scurrilous, and dogmatical, even beyond what is permitted to a verbal critic. His ill temper is indeed somewhat subdued by his respect for Mr. Fox. But still there are quite sufficient indications of what he could be, and what from his other writings we know that he was. The harshness of the critic only serves to render the tone of Mr. Fox's correspondence more pleasing. It was reasonable to expect that in point of grace and courtesy the statesman should be superior to the dissenting minister.

nister. But Mr. Fox owed his advantages to nature as much as to habit. His letters are written in a delightful strain of frank unaffected politeness—reflected immediately from that benevolence of which all politeness, however diversified by conventional forms, is designed to be the image. We are greatly mistaken if mere acuteness and knowledge of the world could produce a similar result. Good breeding, in the sense in which Mr. Fox was well bred, implies a warm heart and nice feelings. All the letters of which the public are yet in possession are to persons inferior to him, as well in station as in talents, and we think them models of that species of correspondence. Nothing can be more kind or more delicate. His manner has nothing in it of what is called condescension—that thin veil which insolence throws over superiority only to make it more conspicuous. His kindness is plain, manly, unstudied. He takes a tone of equality without doing any thing to shew that he has come down to it. His advantages were too great for him to be ignorant of them himself, but his modesty and good nature were always on the watch to prevent the display of them in any way that could be painful to others. We doubt whether, in the whole of this correspondence, a single expression could be pointed out from which it could be fairly inferred that Mr. Fox thought himself a wiser or a greater man than Mr. Wakefield.

We have a good specimen of them both in Letters 23 and 24. At the beginning of the shooting season in 1799, Mr. Fox had the misfortune to hurt his hand, by the bursting of his gun. Mr. Wakefield, impelled (as he expresses it) ‘by an ardent desire for Mr. Fox’s approximation, as nearly as possible, to his own notions of perfection,’ takes this opportunity to lecture him upon the cruelty of shooting; and, in the hope of inducing him to renounce that barbarous amusement, quotes him a long sentence from Cicero about the ‘*indignæ homine docto voluptates*.’ Here was some temptation to sneer; but this strange burst of fanaticism produces from Mr. Fox a good humoured and perfectly serious answer. As it is short we insert it.

‘Sir,

I ASSURE you I take very kindly your letter, and the quotation in it. I think the question of “How far field sports are innocent amusements,” is nearly connected with another, upon which, from the title of one of your intended works, I suspect you entertain opinions rather singular; for if it is lawful to kill tame animals with whom one has a sort of acquaintance, such as *fowls, oxen, &c.* it is still less repugnant to one’s feelings to kill wild animals; but then to make a *pastime* of it—I am aware there is something to be said upon this point. On the other hand, if example is allowed to be anything, there is nothing in which
all

all mankind, civilized or savage, have more agreed, than in making some sort of chase (for fishing is of the same nature) part of their business or amusement. However, I admit it to be a very questionable subject: at all events, it is a very pleasant and healthful exercise. My wound goes on, I believe, very well; and no material injury is apprehended to the hand, but the cure will be tedious, and I shall be confined in this town for more weeks than I had hoped ever to spend days here. I am much obliged to you for your inquiries, and am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. FOX.

This however did not satisfy Mr. Wakefield—he returns to the charge, and not content with having proscribed shooting, involves hunting in a still severer sentence. That he pronounces to be ‘the most irrational and degrading spectacle in the world, and’ (rising by an unexpected climax) ‘an admirable prolusion to those delectable operations which are transacting in Holland and elsewhere.’ It may perhaps be necessary to acquaint our readers that ‘the delectable operations in Holland,’ for which men’s minds had been steeled by the cruelties of a fox-chase, were certain efforts which the British ministry of that day was wicked enough to make, in order to assist the misguided inhabitants of that country in throwing off the mild and rightful dominion of the Executive Directory of France. Luckily however he goes off to Ovid’s *Tristia*, and in the next letter Mr. Fox contrives to glide gently out of the controversy.

It is but justice to Mr. Fox to observe, that he is evidently desirous of confining the correspondence to literary topics. That however was rendered impossible by his learned friend’s horror of English despotism, and zeal for French happiness and freedom. Mr. Wakefield insists upon mixing a little politics with his Greek. And a more deplorable example of rancour and folly than is exhibited in the few remarks upon public questions that are scattered up and down these letters, it would be difficult to find. In the year 1797, after all the massacres and proscriptions which for five years had desolated and disgraced France, we find him expressing a decided preference of the French to the English political character. He is quite charmed with the ‘gipsy jargon’ of the revolutionists, even when it was already beginning to grow obsolete. One of his letters ends thus—‘Excuse me, if in the French style, which appears to me most manly and becoming, even for the sake of variety itself, I conclude myself, “ever yours, with health and respect.”’ He thinks the practice of tying up malefactors at Newgate execrable—is thrown into utter conternation by the sentence upon Lord Thanet and Mr. Ferguson—considers the nation as sunk into the lowest state of degradation—

graduation—and on one occasion, when he is pressed rather hard by Mr. Fox in an argument about the digamma, he apologizes for his own inability to furnish a more satisfactory reply, by intimating that there had not yet been revolutions enough in the world to dispel the obscurity that hangs over such topics. ‘But these studies,’ he says, ‘are really in their infancy, and will continue so till better forms of government leave the human race more at leisure to cultivate their intellects.’ The present state of Greek literature in France might have inclined even Mr. Wakefield to doubt the efficacy of a revolution in settling questions as to the ‘digamma.’ It is not to be supposed that we blame Mr. Fox for not entering into a refutation of such doctrines as those of Mr. Wakefield; but we cannot help saying that he is far too complaisant in his way of assenting to them. It could not escape a person of Mr. Fox’s sagacity that Mr. Wakefield was a pure unadulterated Jacobin, a deadly fanatical enemy to the whole established order of this country, civil and ecclesiastical. Yet we find him (p. 18) talking of the opinions *we* profess, as if he had been a politician of exactly the same school. But these were the unhappy years of Mr. Fox’s life, when long disappointment had ended in despair; and when, unmindful of all that was due to himself and to his country, he was content to purchase a short-lived hollow popularity among miscreants whom he must have abhorred, and fanatics whom he must have despised, by sacrificing for ever the confidence of the sound, the judicious, and the governing part of the community. Hence that strange *anti-patriotic* feeling by which, in the discussion of all questions betwixt England and any other power, he seemed to be actuated. He had come at last to feel a prejudice against the nation which had preferred his rival, and he had learnt to look, with indifference at least, to the subversion of that order of things in which he found no place proportioned to his talents. Yet if there ever was a man far removed by nature from that sect with which he now formed a preposterous union, it was Mr. Fox. He was unfitted from playing the part of a Jacobin, by the absolute want of all the necessary qualifications. He had neither the coarseness, the ferocity, nor the ignorant insolent contempt of all that is ancient and established. He was in every thing a gentleman of the highest class. His education—the connections he had formed in life—his habits and feelings, all purely liberal and aristocratic. He was the creature of polished society, such as it existed under the ancient monarchies of Europe. He belonged originally to the good old school of Walpolian Whigs—prudent practical persons—a little too fond of jobbing—quite contented with the constitution as they found it, and disposed to hold high the honour of the country

in its intercourse with foreign nations. He had not a single point of contact with the philosophizing assassins who, about twenty years ago, first appeared as candidates for the government of the world. He was neither bold nor hasty in his application of general principles, and no man was ever less inclined by his own nature to sweep away present liberty, present comfort, and present security, in order to lay a foundation for ideal perfection at a distant period. His eloquence too was of that chaste argumentative sort which can only be addressed with success to an educated and intelligent audience. From the loftiness and simplicity of his mind, the delicacy of his taste, a certain natural shyness which might at first be mistaken for coldness and reserve, he was utterly incapable of condescending to those paltry artifices, and performing those mountebank tricks which are necessary to captivate the multitude. In the act of cajoling a mob, he was infinitely surpassed by persons whom, in point of talents, it would be quite ludicrous to compare with him. He was an awkward unpractised demagogue, and a lukewarm unwilling reformer. From justice and humanity he was anxious for the happiness of the lower orders, that is, of the bulk of mankind, but no minister would have been ever less disposed to admit them to a large share in swaying public measures. When his friends absurdly called him 'the man of the people,' they seemed to have forgot that the great act of his life was a struggle against the people. He made his stand against them upon the forms of our government—upon that constitutional fiction by which the House of Commons is supposed *always* to speak the sense of the nation. An appeal to the country was that which he affected to execrate as a crime, and the man of the people spent ten years in an ineffectual endeavour to persuade them that one half of the aristocracy, with himself at their head, ought to rule, in spite of them and the other half.

Such was Mr. Fox, who, by the power of circumstances, which it required something more of firmness and high political virtue than he possessed, to resist, was led, in the most important crisis of his political life, to play a part directly opposite to the natural bent of his own inclinations and character. Formed to hold with a high hand the reins of government in a tempered monarchy, he became the apologist of an insane and flagitious revolution, an advocate for the public enemies of the state in all its contests with foreign powers, the rallying point of disaffection, the terror of good, the hope and support of bad citizens.

But we have been insensibly led on to say more than we ought or than we intended of Mr. Fox's political character. Our chief concern with him at present is as a scholar and a man of taste. The most interesting

interesting parts of this little publication are those in which Mr. Fox incidentally gives his opinion upon some of the ancient writers. We are sorry that they are not more numerous: for though upon such topics it is not fair to expect much novelty, or that what is new should be right, particularly from a man writing hastily and without the responsibility of publication, yet it is impossible not to feel curious about all the articles of Mr. Fox's literary creed. So great an authority might well induce one to reconsider the most established doctrines, and when they do not differ, we feel our confidence increased by the coincidence.

In the first place, we cannot help again remarking Mr. Fox's strong attachment to classical learning. It was the delight of his early days, and his proficiency in it afforded the first presage of his future glory. He never wholly abandoned it even in the meridian glow of occupation and pleasure; and he reverted to it in his latter days with all his characteristic eagerness. We dwell upon this fact, because we think the authority of so great a man—of a man so little liable to be influenced by vanity or prejudice—may serve in some degree to shelter the lovers of such studies against the censure of those haughty critics who are inclined to treat them as childish, pedantic, or (worst of all) *useless*. We are therefore glad to have it upon record, that, in the full vigour and maturity of his understanding, with the free choice of pursuits before him, Mr. Fox's leisure was employed—not (as we presume it ought to have been) in endeavouring to discover a six hundred and twenty-fifth metal—not in improvements in the art of bleaching and dying—not in examining the mechanism of the steam-engine and the spinning-jenny—not in teaching to a yet unenlightened world the true philosophy of wheel-carriages, but in reading and re-reading the poets, historians, and orators of Greece and Rome.

We proceed to lay before our readers a few extracts. They will be pleased to hear the opinion of one of the greatest orators of modern times, upon Cicero.

P. 85. 'By the way, I know no speech of Cicero more full of beautiful passages than this, (pro M. Cælio,) nor where he is more in his element. Argumentative contention is what he by no means excels in; and he is never, I think, so happy, as when he has an opportunity of exhibiting a mixture of philosophy and pleasantry; and especially when he can interpose anecdotes and references to the authority of the eminent characters in the history of his own country. No man appears indeed to have had such a real respect for authority as he; and therefore when he speaks upon that subject he is always natural and in earnest; and not like those among us who are so often declaiming about the wisdom of our ancestors, without knowing what they mean, and hardly ever citing any particulars of their conduct or of their "dicta."

All

All that relates to Cicero in this passage appears to us true and striking, and we also subscribe the concluding remark, though not probably with the extensive application of it that Mr. Fox intended.

Ovid was a great favourite with Mr. Fox. In the same letter he says,—

‘I have always been a great reader of him, and thought myself the greatest admirer he had, till you called him the first poet of antiquity, which is going beyond even me. The grand and spirited style of the *Iliad*; the true nature and simplicity of the *Odyssey*; the poetical language (far excelling that of all other poets in the world) of the *Georgics*, and the pathetic strokes in the *Æneid*, give Homer and Virgil a rank, in my judgment, clearly above all competitors; but next after them I should be very apt to class Ovid, to the great scandal, I believe, of all who pique themselves upon what is called purity of taste. You have somewhere compared him to Euripides, I think, and I can fancy I see a resemblance between them. This resemblance, I suppose, it is, which makes one prefer Euripides to Sophocles; a preference which, if one were writing a dissertation, it would be very difficult to justify.’

In another place (p. 107) he says, ‘I have read over, possibly for the hundredth time, the portion of the *Metamorphoses* about *Pythagoras*; and I think you cannot praise it too highly. I always considered it as the finest part of the whole poem; and possibly the *Death of Hercules* as the next to it.’

Mr. Wakefield had advised him (a proof by the bye how very limited he supposed Mr. Fox’s classical knowledge to be) to read the famous chapter in *Quintilian* containing the comparison between the Greek and Roman writers. Mr. Fox says (p. 108) ‘I have read again (what I had often read before) the chapter you refer to in *Quintilian*, and a most pleasing one it is; but I think he seems to have an opinion not quite high enough of our favourite Ovid; and in his laboured comparison between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, he appears to me to have thought them more alike, in their manners and respective excellencies, than they seem to me. It is of them, I think, that he might most justly have said, “*Magis pares quam similes.*”

We have before noticed how little Mr. Fox had read of *Apollonius Rhodius*.—He proceeds in the same letter—

‘I have no *Apollonius Rhodius*, and have never read of him more than there is in our *Eton “Poetæ Græci,”* and the *Edinburgh Collectanea*: but from what I have read, he seems to be held far too low by *Quintilian*; nor can I think the ‘*æqualis mediocritas*’ to be his character. The parts extracted in the above collections are as fine as poetry can be; and, I believe, are generally allowed to have been the model of what is certainly not the least admired part of the *Æneid*. If he is in other parts equal to these, he ought not to be characterized by *mediocrity*. I wish to read the rest of the poem itself, and partly to ascertain

ascertain how much Virgil has taken from him: but I have not got it, and do not know what edition of it I ought to get. I should be much obliged to you if you will tell me. Shaw is one of the latest, but I think I have heard it ill spoken of. If, at the same time, you would advise me in regard to the Greek poets in general, (of the second and third order I mean,) which are best worth reading, and in what editions, you would do me a great service.

Not long after he reads Apollonius through.—

‘Soon after I wrote to you last I read Apollonius, (in Shaw’s edition, for I have not been able to get Brunck’s,) and upon the whole had great satisfaction from him. His language is sometimes hard, and very often, I think, prosaical; and there is too much narration: but there are passages quite delightful to me, and I think his reputation has been below his merit. Both Ovid and Virgil have taken much from him, but the latter less, as appears to me, than has been commonly said. Dido is, in a very few instances, a copy of Medea; whereas I had been led to suppose that she was almost wholly so: and of Hypsipile, whose situation is most like Dido’s, Apollonius has made little or nothing.’

Again (194) he says—

‘I know it is the fashion to say Virgil has taken a great deal in this book (4th) from Apollonius; and it is true that he has taken some things, but not nearly so much as I had been taught to expect before I read Apollonius. I think Medea’s Speech in the 4th Argonaut. v. 356, is the part he has made most use of. There are some very peculiar *breaks* there which Virgil has imitated certainly, and which, I think, are very beautiful and expressive: I mean particularly v. 382 in Apollonius, and v. 380 in Virgil. To be sure the application is different, but the manner is the same: and that Virgil had the passage before him at the time is evident from what follows.

Μησαιο δι και ποτ' εμοιο,
στενυγμενος καματοισι.

compared with

Supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido
Sæpe vocaturum.

It appears to me upon the whole that Ovid has taken more from Apollonius than Virgil.’

There are more passages of this kind; but what we have given will serve as a specimen.

Mr. Wakefield writes in a stiff, heavy, pedantic way. We suspect he had no true feeling of the beauties of those authors in reading whom he was chiefly employed. Whenever he quits the beaten path and trusts to himself he is sure to go wrong. When his opinions are not trite they are utterly preposterous. Plato and Aristophanes are the two Greek authors he cannot get through. He thinks Ovid the first poet of all antiquity; and among the favourite passages to which he refers in support of this judgment is the *Elegy*
on

on Tibullus. Now if we had to point out an instance of a fine subject unsuccessfully treated, we perhaps could not do better than mention this very elegy. Nothing can be more puerile and jejune. It is altogether worthy of the miserable couplet with which it concludes.

Ossa quietâ precor placidè requiescite in urnâ,
Et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo.

But Mr. Wakefield had heard it was good, or guessed from the subject and the author, that it ought to be so, and that was enough.

We shall however trouble our readers with one extract from his letters, because it gives what appears to us a fair and not ill-drawn character of a very extraordinary man—the late Professor Porson.

‘I have been furnished with many opportunities of observing Porson, by a near inspection. He has been at my house several times, and once for an entire summer’s day. Our intercourse would have been frequent, but for *three* reasons. 1. His extreme irregularity and inattention to times and seasons, which did not at all comport with the methodical arrangement of my time and family. 2. His gross addiction to that lowest and least excusable of all sensualities, immoderate drinking: and 3, the uninteresting insipidity of his society; as it is impossible to engage his mind on any topic of mutual enquiry, to procure his opinion on any author or passage of an author, or to elicit any conversation of any kind to compensate for the time and attendance of his company. And as for Homer, Virgil, and Horace, I never could hear of the least critical effort on them in his life. He is in general devoid of all human affections; but such as he has are of a misanthropic quality: *nor do I think that any man exists for whom his propensities rise to the lowest pitch of affection or esteem.* He much resembles Proteus in Lycophron:

ὡ γὰρ ὅς τις ἀπὶ χθονὸς
καὶ θαλάσσης.

Though I believe he has satirical verses in his treasury for Dr. Bellenden as he calls him, (Parr,) and all his most intimate associates. But in his knowledge of the Greek tragedies and Aristophanes; in his judgment of MSS., and in all that relates to the metrical proprieties of dramatic and lyric versification, with whatever is connected with this species of reading; none of his co-temporaries must pretend to equal him. His grammatical knowledge also, and his acquaintance with the ancient lexicographers and etymologists, is most accurate and profound: and his intimacy with Shakespeare, B. Jonson, and other dramatic writers is probably unequalled. He is, in short, a most extraordinary person in every point of view, but unamiable; and has been debarred of a comprehensive intercourse with the Greek and Roman authors by his excesses, which have made those acquirements impossible to him, from the want of that *time* which must necessarily be expended in laborious reading, and for which no reading can be made a substitute. No man has ever paid a more voluntary and respectful homage to his talents, at
all

all times, both publicly and privately, in writings and conversation, than myself: and I will be content to forfeit the esteem and affection of all mankind whenever the least particle of envy or malignity is found to mix itself with my opinions. My first reverence is to virtue, my second only to talents and erudition—where both unite that man is estimable indeed to me, and shall receive the full tribute of honour and affection.’

The style of Mr. Fox’s letters is (as our readers will have already remarked in the extracts we have given) light, easy, natural, and correct. It is the unstudied language of a scholar and a gentleman. In his ‘History’ he seems to have been encumbered by some theory as to style, and either from the original faultiness of the theory itself, or from his not having practised the art of writing sufficiently to enable him to realize his own notions of excellence, the whole composition has an air of awkwardness and embarrassment. Here he is free from this self-imposed restraint, and consequently, we think, appears to far greater advantage as a writer of familiar letters, than in the dignified character of an historian. On all occasions he shews (what we are always glad to remark and eager to praise) a strong preference of simple idiomatic turns of expression to what is perhaps generally thought more dignified or graceful language. In all highly civilized countries there are two classes of people that are constantly tending to withdraw a language from its true standard. In the first place, half-educated people, who think that the best proof they can give of their taste and knowledge is to depart in all cases as much as possible from those forms of expression that are in use among the vulgar—Secondly those of an over-refined disposition, who are tired of all that is common, and who, for the benefit of readers as fastidious as themselves, exercise a perverse ingenuity in substituting new words and new combinations instead of those that formerly prevailed in correct writing and good company. To these must be added, when we are speaking of our own country, those half-foreign writers of Ireland and Scotland—but particularly of Scotland—whose industry and genius, contending against great advantages, have procured for them so high a place in our literature. The joint influence of all these threatens our language with a change which in no very long course of years will make Swift obsolete and Addison vulgar. Mr. Fox was sensible of this danger, and laboured to avert it. Nothing was more remarkable in the language of his speeches than its simplicity and *anglicism*; and as they unfortunately could not be preserved, we are glad that something at least should remain to record his authority by the most effectual of all means—his example.

- ART. IV. 1. *Letters to Sir W. Drummond.* By Rev. G. D'Oyly.
 2. *Letters to Rev. G. D'Oyly.* By Vindex. 8vo. pp. 113. London; Sherwood and Co. 1812.
 3. *Remarks on Sir W. Drummond's Œdipus Judaicus.* By Rev. George D'Oyly, &c. 8vo. pp. 218. London; Cadell and Davies. 1813.

SOME of our readers may, perhaps, have heard of a new commentary on the Hebrew Scriptures, entitled *Œdipus Judaicus*. With a reserve which does not always attend the consciousness of truth and sincerity, the discoveries contained in the book have been withheld from the general eye, and confined to those initiated persons whose degree of apprehension and habits of thinking were supposed not to disqualify them for an introduction into the greater mysteries, to which it is dangerous to admit over scrupulous and discriminating inquirers. Owing, however, to some negligence in the hierophant, a copy of these ἀποκρύφα has fallen into the hands of Mr. D'Oyly, a person who is not only destitute of the qualities deemed requisite to its perusal, but who also labours under certain positive disabilities, such as sound learning and accurate judgment. This appears in nothing more, than in the use which he has made of his advantages. Instead of complimenting the author, on the acquaintance with the Asiatic alphabets which he displays, he ventures to doubt* the soundness of that knowledge. Instead of acquiescing in the *ipse dixit* of the philosopher, he discusses his arguments, and questions his conclusions. Instead of expressing astonishment at the multiplicity of quotations, he inquires into their accuracy and pertinency; and instead of admiring the originality of the ideas, he detects them in a French writer, who had before been kept behind the scenes. It is, indeed, not a little unfortunate, that the author's intention of keeping the distribution of the book within his own hands should have been thus frustrated; and we cannot be surprised at the warmth of his anonymous apologist, Vindex, on finding that a copy of it had been so unworthily disposed of, in defiance of all his prudence.

Our readers, we are sure, will sympathise with Sir W. Drummond, when they understand what slight respect Mr. D'Oyly has shown for his learning, and perceive that the friendship professed in the *Œdipus* for the Scriptures, has appeared enmity in his eyes,

* Nothing, we observe, excites the indignation of Vindex more than this presumption. 'I shall suggest to you,' he angrily answers, 'that if you mean to dispute Sir W. Drummond's knowledge of the Oriental tongues, I think you might as well consult his published works—for example, his Essay on a Punic Inscription, containing a variety of biblical criticism, royal quarto; his remarks on an inscription in the island of Malta, in the Ninth Number of the Classical Journal, &c.'

owing, perhaps, to his having read the book without first undergoing the necessary process of medicating the intellectual ray with the compound used by the initiated. That they may enter upon the subject with proper feelings, we will acquaint them with the object of the work.

'The intention of the *Ædipus Judaicus* is principally to convert into allegory portions of the Old Testament, which have been always received as historical. For instance: the Book of Joshua conveys an allegorical representation of the reform of the calendar. The existence of the persons and places mentioned in that book, is not denied; but it is contended that when they occur in it, they are used not to designate persons and places, but to convey an allegorical meaning: viz. the name Joshua, is a type of the sun in the sign of the Ram; Jericho means the moon in her several quarters; Jordan is not the river known by that name, but a serpent, the hieroglyphic for the sun's annual orbit. Thus the author proceeds through the whole book, forcing every proper name into some connexion with astronomy; and then affirming that it is used not as a proper name, but as an allegorical symbol. In support of this system he eagerly takes advantage, as may be supposed, of every *number* occurring through the book, which corresponds with any number frequent in astronomy. The twelve tribes of Israel shadow the twelve signs of the Zodiac, or the twelve months of the year. When Jericho is compassed *seven* times, there is an allegory of the seven days of the week. When *five* kings of the Amorites war against Joshua, the five intercalary days are typically represented.'—*D'Oyly's Remarks*, pp. 4, 5.

Now the method of proof, by deriving the proper names from some astronomical term, is certainly attended with one advantage, which is thus pointed out by Mr. D'Oyly.

'It is in the nature of things impossible to *disprove* any proposed method of deducing the etymology of a word, however absurd, fanciful, and strained it may appear to every considerate mind. We may give reasons for rejecting it as highly improbable, and for receiving another, perhaps, as drawn from a far more obvious source; but this is all that we can do; if any person should persevere in maintaining that his own is the best derivation, the question must be left to the judgment of others: it is impossible to *prove* that he is wrong. In some old Monkish histories, the word Britain is derived from Brutus, a supposed descendant of Æneas: now, we may produce reasons without end for disbelieving any connection to have subsisted between Britain, and a person named Brutus; and for either acquiescing in our inability to derive the word at all, or for greatly preferring some other mode of deriving it: but we can do no more; we cannot *confute* the person, who maintains that it certainly *is* derived from Brutus, and that every other mode of deriving it is comparatively forced and improbable.—Precisely in the same manner, when our author affirms that the word "Amorites" is derived from a Hebrew word signifying a Ram* (the astronomical sign of

* *Ædip. Jud.* p. 207.

Aries); that Balaam comes from a word signifying "to swallow," with allusion to the celestial Dragon;* Deborah, from Aldebaran, the great star in the Bull's eye,† &c.: we cannot possibly *confute* him, or positively *prove* that he is wrong; we can only hint that these derivations are not very obvious or probable, and refer the matter to the common sense of mankind.—p. 20. 'But the unfortunate part is, that every one of the intended derivations might be safely granted to the author, and yet not a single step of advance would be made towards the proof of his allegorical system. Let Sir W. D. prove, in the best manner he is able, the derivation of Hebrew proper names from astronomy. If he should succeed, he would only prove what is antecedently extremely probable, on the supposition that astronomy was a science greatly cultivated, and the only science cultivated, in those early times. For, on this supposition, it would be most natural that very many words and names in the language should bear express allusion to this favourite science. But what more would be proved? They would remain proper names still; they would denote, as before, real persons and places; and the books in which they are mentioned would still contain real histories, instead of being immediately converted into allegorical fables.'—p. 17.

We will now enable our readers to judge for themselves of the advantages accruing to the cause of revelation, by the allegorical scheme. They remember the four first verses of the Book of Joshua. In the commentary on that passage, contained in the *Œdipus Judaicus*, it is endeavoured to establish,

'That by the words Joshua the son of Nun, we are to understand instead of a real person, the son of another real person, called Nun—"the sun in the sign of Aries, which rises above Cetus or the whale"—that the word Jordan, in this passage, does not signify the river known by that name, but is used metaphorically to signify the ecliptic; that the word translated wilderness, having for its true signification the boundary of the land, is here conceived to mean the horizon; Lebanon the author supposes to have been a name given to the sun, and probably the rising sun; Euphrates he concludes to mean the light of the Zodiacal constellations; and all he can do for the word Hittites at present, is to observe that it is frequently connected with others which bear a distant reference to astronomy.' 'This is the substance of the commentary: and now the meaning,' he says, 'of the allegory seems pretty clear. The style being changed, the equinoctial sun hailed the Saviour, and identified with the Ram or Lamb, opens the year, and is feigned as leading the twelve Zodiacal signs along' (read across) 'the ecliptic.' 'As our author performs so very imperfectly the important part of pointing out what sense will come out from these four verses, on the supposition that his commentary is well founded, and that he has proved the abovementioned words to bear the symbolical meanings which he proposes; I will perform this part for him. Of course, we must take it for granted, that he intends the other words in the passage

* *Œdip. Jad.* p. 255.† *Ib.* p. 348.

to retain their received meanings; and especially the word "Moses" to remain a proper name, designating a real person, as it always has done; for, assuredly, he would not have omitted to favour the world with his new discoveries respecting this name, if he had made any. On the whole, then, his interpretation of the four first verses of Joshua stands thus:

"Now after the death of Moses, the servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake unto the *Sun in the sign of Aries* (which constellation rises above the Whale), Moses's minister, saying, Moses my servant is dead: now, therefore, arise, go over this ecliptic, thou and all this people, unto the land which I do give unto them, even unto the children of Israel. Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses; from the horizon and this rising Sun, even unto the flux of light, the light of the zodiacal constellations; all the land of the Chettim, and unto the great sea, towards the going down of the sun, shall be your coast."—p. 32.

We attribute it to the misfortune which we suffer in common with Mr. D'Oyly, of not belonging to the initiated party, that, to our understanding, there appears to be a mistake in calling this allegory. In true allegory the principal and secondary subjects are kept distinct; here they are confounded, and the representative subject, the passage of the Israelites, and the thing represented, the passage of the sun, being mingled together, the result is unintelligible absurdity. Moses's minister might, *possibly*, be the representative of the sun in the sign of Aries, but the sun in the sign of Aries could not be actually addressed as the minister of Moses. This ignorance of the nature of allegory, which was known, no doubt, to exist in the persons for whose use the book was intended, is presumed throughout the whole commentary. In a subsequent narrative, it is pretended that Rahab is a personification of space or latitude, who was worshipped as a deity by the Tsabaists:

"—the two men sent out from Shittim "seem to represent," in the reform of the calendar, "the two degrees added to each sign, or the two days added to each lunar month:" that is, the two days added to the lunar months of 28 days, so as to make the year consist of 360 days.

"Thus his version runs as follows: "The Sun in Aries sent out of the heavens two men (meaning two days added to the lunar months), to spy secretly, saying, go view the land, even the moon (or the lunar months); and they went and came into a harlot's house, named "Space or Latitude," and lodged there: and it was told the king of "the moon," &c.—the allegory continues; Space or Latitude personified, hides the two men (meaning the two days added to the months or the two degrees added to the signs), in the roof of the house, lets them down by a cord through the window, stipulates with them that her house should be spared at the capture of the city."—p. 36.

Again, in the course of the history, Joshua conducts his army against a place called Ai: he brings with him 30,000 chosen men,
of

of whom he selects 5000 to be placed in ambush; the place is at last taken, and 12,000 of the inhabitants are slain. But Ai, it seems, is the calendar; the 30,000 men represent allegorically the thirty days of the month; the 5000 men placed in ambush, the five intercalary days; and the 12,000 men slain after the capture of Ai, the twelve lunar months. Our readers will still observe the same confusion of the literal and allegorical meaning. 'The Reformer, coming to destroy the calendar of the Tsabaists, brings against it the thirty days of the month; the five intercalary days are placed in ambush; after the calendar is destroyed; the twelve months are put to death by the Reformer, &c.'—p. 39.

There are some hypotheses so prepossessing in themselves, that we willingly go great lengths in order to receive them. Such, for instance, is that of Bishop Horne concerning the Psalms, which inclines us to overlook or pardon many forced conceits and overstrained interpretations. We doubt whether it will be generally thought that this new version of the historical Scriptures is entitled to the same favour. Yet such as it is, we find that it cannot be supported without sundry departures from the Hebrew idiom, and alterations of the words, without a defiance of the common rules of interpretation, and a remarkable abuse of the astronomical terms employed—for instance:—

'The author explains, in his Preface, (p. xxvii.) what he means by the term *Paranatellon*: he says that, by the paranatellons of a sign, he means those extra-zodiacal stars, which rise above the horizon, or sink below it, during the time that the sign takes to rise or set. He derives this explanation from his wonted instructor, Dupuis, (*Orig. de tous les Cultes*, v. 3, p. 191,) and I believe it is perfectly correct; the word seldom occurs with modern writers on astronomy, but ancient astronomers used it in this sense. But in what degree does our author adhere to this explanation, or appear even to understand what it means? We may have some means of judging of this by several of his expressions, which I shall subsequently notice; but we may judge, best of all, by a delineation of the sign of Leo with its paranatellons, which he gives in the 16th plate of his *Cædipus Judaicus*. In this delineation, the sphere being projected on the plane of the ecliptic, he has drawn lines (representing secondaries to the ecliptic) from each extremity of the sign of Leo, to the pole of the ecliptic, meeting the ecliptic again on the opposite side: and he describes the constellations included between these, to be the paranatellons of Leo. Thus, such is his radical ignorance of the subject of which he treats, he evidently supposes that those constellations which have the same longitude with Leo, and those which differ in longitude by 180° , rise and set at the same time with Leo. He discusses the matter, in fact, as if the pole of the ecliptic was placed in the horizon; and he appears to be totally unconscious that the elevation of the pole above the horizon makes the entire difference in the relative risings and settings of the stars. Such is the profound know-

ledge of astronomy which our author brings to the discussion, and such the clearness of ideas which he himself displays, when he assumes the office of enlightening the minds of others.'—p. 75.

Again, it suits his purpose to affirm that 'the ship Argo descends into the horizon when the sun rises, at the time of the year when it is in Capricorn;' and he therefore affirms it. 'But,' says Mr. D'Oyly, 'I will request the reader to adapt a celestial globe to the latitude of Egypt—30 N. lat.—he will then find that only a part of the constellation Argo ever rises at all above the horizon; and that every part of it has actually sunk entirely under the horizon, before Capricorn begins to rise, and therefore, before the sun, when in Capricorn, can possibly rise.'—p. 94. It also makes a part of his system, that the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb was a memorial of the transit of the equinoctial sun, and copied from an Egyptian festival. To prove this, it is necessary to pervert the sense of several Jewish Rabbins; and after all, we are to suppose that a ram (i. e. the sun in Aries) was worshipped, because he was sacrificed; and that the solemnity was copied from Egypt, because it appears in fact that the lamb was chosen as a victim, for the express purpose of opposing the Egyptian worship.

"But, say the Rabbins, (it is Sir W. Drummond who speaks,) there was nothing in the Egyptian festival, similar to the custom of the Israelites, in marking the doors, &c. with blood. My opinion is, that there was something very like it. St. Epiphanius says that, about the vernal equinox, the Egyptians had been accustomed, from very remote antiquity, to celebrate the festival of the ram or lamb. At this festival, he adds, they used to mark every thing about them with red. I have not a copy of Epiphanius by me; but I am pretty certain that I have read a passage in him to this effect."

'Sir W. D. (subjoins Mr. D'Oyly) was singularly unfortunate in not having a copy of Epiphanius by him, at the time when he wrote this passage; but I shrewdly suspect that he was more fortunate in having a copy of Dupuis by him, and that he derived from him his method of quoting Epiphanius's words. Dupuis (vol. 3. p. 56) speaks in this manner, "St. Epiphane parle également de la fête de l'agneau, ou du belier, établie en Egypte, dès la plus haute antiquité. Dans cette fête on marquait tout de rouge pour annoncer le fameux embrasement de l'univers, et elle étoit, comme la paques, fixée au commencement du printemps." Now, what must be the surprise of the reader, when he finds that these writers give a most complete and thorough perversion of Epiphanius's words, and that this author says not a single syllable about an *Egyptian festival of the Ram*, at which every thing was smeared with red, nor speaks at all of any custom subsisting among them *from very remote antiquity*? I will refresh Sir W. D.'s memory, and produce for him the part of Epiphanius which has given rise to this singular perversion.

'Epiphanius is speaking of a sect of Jews, called the Nazaræans, who,

who, while they believed in Moses as a lawgiver sent from God, held to be false and spurious the accounts given in the Pentateuch, and, though they conformed to many Jewish ceremonies, rejected every sort of sacrifice. In arguing against these for their disbelief of the Pentateuch, he mentions the following external proof, supplied by an Egyptian custom subsisting in his day, of the truth of the events which are recorded to have taken place at the first institution of the Passover. "But, of the lamb slain in the country of the Egyptians, there is still among the Egyptians celebrated a tradition, even among idolaters: for, at the season when the Passover took place there, (and this is the beginning of spring when is the first equinox) all the Egyptians through ignorance take some red paint, and stain the sheep, stain the trees, the fig-trees, and other things, saying that, as is reported, on that day, fire totally consumed the world; but that the red appearance of blood is a preservative from such disaster."—p. 134.

We must now express our obligation to Mr. D'Oyly for enabling us to judge what sort of interpretation the astronomical allegory gives, and shewing us so skilfully on what foundation it stands. It must be evident to all our readers that it can demand no attention or regard, except what is reflected from the importance of the object it assails. For ourselves, we should certainly have supposed that Sir W. Drummond had printed his lucubrations for the sole amusement of laughing at the zeal which is felt, and the talents which are employed, in defending the cause of religion, were it not for the serious tone of a reply to the first letters of Mr. D'Oyly, published under the title of *Vindex*. There can, we think, be no doubt that *Vindex* is intimately acquainted with the real object and intention of the *Œdipus Judaicus*: indeed he evinces a partiality for the original work which could scarcely be exceeded by the author himself. Now *Vindex* is so far from denying the author of *Œdipus* to be in earnest, that he is angry with Mr. D'Oyly, for apprehending any danger from the allegorical commentary, notwithstanding its author's innocent intentions, who argues, not only that 'the allegorical is often the real sense of the Scriptures, but that if the Old Testament be read with this understanding, it will be found to exalt the character of the Deity as highly as can be imagined by the limited faculties of man.'—*Letters by Vindex*, p. 46. It is no doubt the severest trial to which innocence can be brought, when it is mistaken for guilt; yet it might have mollified *Vindex's* resentment at Mr. D'Oyly's 'misapprehension,' if he had reflected that in spite of the authority of some fallible fathers, and other less sincere friends of revelation, there may be persons so simple and short-sighted as to confound allegory with fable, especially when their connexion is so close, that *Vindex* himself does not always distinguish clearly between them. 'Many have thought, (he says, p. 108.) that Sesostriis, Taaut, Hercules, &c. were

were real persons; but it is evident, if it were so, that their history has been abundantly mixed with allegory.' Now our readers will agree with us, that in this passage at least we might substitute the word fable for 'allegory,' without any violation either of the sense or the fact, and will not wonder, therefore, at our requiring a strong case of necessity to be made out, before we admit into an historical record an interpretation of so problematical a nature, that it is liable to be mistaken even by those who are more conversant than we pretend to be in the 'typical, allegorical, and figurative style of the ancient Orientalists.'—p. 46. But as this is a matter of general and supreme importance, we will consider it with all the seriousness to which Vindex pretends.

To prove the necessity of his explanation, Sir Wm. Drummond 'has instanced those passages of the Old Testament, from which, if they be taken literally, we might be led to connect ideas of locality and materiality with our notions of the Deity. Thus he doubts whether it be possible to separate such ideas from the literal interpretation of various texts, in which the Deity is described as dwelling in the sanctuary. He contends, however, that these passages bear a figurative sense, and that when thus understood they must tend to elevate our ideas of the greatness and glory of God.'—p. 51.

Now it must be allowed that the evil effects of the erroneous opinions here attributed to Jews and Christians, have had full time to operate, and that we have ample means to judge of their operation. If the Jews were really led by the literal interpretation of their Scriptures to a false or inadequate notion of the Supreme Being, we should find the evidence of this in every page of their religious and moral history: for it is no imaginary alarm to suppose, that mistaken ideas as to the nature of the Deity will lead to corresponding errors in practice. It would be easy, if this were the place for it, to shew that the moral and religious character of every nation, from China to Peru, bears a very close analogy to their actual belief as to the character of the Deity. But it is quite sufficient to refer to the popular religion of the Greeks and Romans, with which we are so familiarly acquainted, and in which the gods of the state and the gods of the poets were much more confounded than might be imagined from Varro's systematic division. The general belief, every one knows, was in deified men: men who, during their lives, had excelled their contemporaries in the temperament of mind or body, and who had not all, as we are told of Hercules, evaporated their mortal particles at the funeral pile, but retained the vices of humanity with the power of gods. Here, certainly, the irrational mythology was not contradicted by a rational worship: no one need be told that the religious festivals of the ancients were absurd and licentious, and that they

they were more or less so, in proportion to the character of the particular deity in whose honour they were celebrated; while the argument as to individual practice was as general as it is natural, Ego homuncio hæc non faciam? Sir William Drummond, therefore, who is well acquainted with antiquity, apprehended incalculable mischief, if an interpretation were suffered to continue current which ascribed '*locality, materiality, mutability, or unworthy passions*' to the Creator. We are only surprised that it never occurred to him as a just conclusion, that he must be mistaken in supposing such errors could arise from the plain language of the Jewish scriptures addressed to the understanding of a reasonable being, since the effect had never actually appeared in the general belief of the nation. In this respect, what is the real fact? Is it not, that from the earliest date of history to the christian era, the Jews alone had adequate or consistent notions of the Creator? Is it not, that the abstract conceptions on the subject of the divine essence, which we meet with in the Hebrew writings, are as far superior to the excursions of ancient philosophy, as the public devotional worship which existed among the Hebrew people was superior to the popular festivals of Greece and Rome? Throughout the Hebrew nation the Deity was honoured under the same consistent character: viz. as so entirely and solely the governor of the universe, that he was the only proper object of worship, and at the same time as a Being so spiritual, that he could not be either worshipped or represented under any sensible image. This general impression was conveyed from their history to their devotion; and from their worship to their morality. In the peculiar nature of their literary compositions we trace it in a manner not to be mistaken. Inferior in every other species of literature, the Hebrews abounded with poetical addresses to the Supreme Being which infinitely surpass any similar attempts that can be brought into comparison. Their writings contain ideas of omnipotence and omnipresence disgraced by no sensible images; they concur in representing the same invisible and spiritual Being to be the Creator of the world, and the guardian of mankind; above all, they excel in describing the moral attributes of God, his justice, and goodness, and mercy, as existing together, and not counteracting one another. That union of the natural and moral sublime, which forms the acknowledged and distinguishing beauty of the Hebrew poetry, was inspired by the belief generally residing in that nation, of the unity, power, and majesty of the Creator.

Here then we are presented with a phenomenon, considerable in itself, but still more extraordinary when contemplated with reference to the alleged fact of the tendency of the Jewish scriptures. That the Jews should have possessed a more sublime system of belief,

belief, and practised a purer mode of worship than any other ancient nation, is in itself sufficiently remarkable: but that this should be the case, in spite of scriptures tending to degrade the object of their belief and worship, is absolutely unaccountable. Will it explain this problem, to tell us, 'that the learned Jews (like the learned Egyptians and Chaldeans) had their esoteric doctrines? and to contend, at great length, that the allegorical parts of scripture were fully understood as such by the priests and prophets of Judea?' p. 24. We are glad, by the way, to find that there were learned Jews; they have not always been treated with so much courtesy;—but this compliment must not silence us, or prevent our asking what the esoteric doctrines of the Egyptian or Grecian philosophers contributed towards purifying the general practice of their countrymen? The esoteric doctrine of the Egyptians, whatever it was, did not withdraw the mass of the people from their senseless superstition; that of the Chaldeans did not check the worship of the heavenly bodies. The unity, if we may believe Warburton, was taught in the mysteries; yet the ancient hymns are mere depositories of the popular follies. But with regard to the Jewish people; though it is true, that the belief and language of Plato will no more bear comparison with those of Moses, than the conjectures of Copernicus with the demonstrations of Newton: yet it is notorious that a still more remarkable difference confronts us, as we descend in the scale of learning and cultivation. From the highest to the lowest of the people, all worshipped the same God, according to the same form, in the same temple. This fact, and the strong contrast it marks between the Jews and all other ancient nations, is by no means generally treated with the attention it deserves. The familiarity with their history, which we acquire in early infancy, important as it is on many accounts, yet weakens the force of the impression it is calculated to excite; and which it would infallibly excite in every intelligent mind, if the account of their history and polity were first conveyed to us at a period of maturer judgment, and viewed in sober comparison with the other records of antiquity. From the midst of darkness, error, and dispute; from scenes of licentious worship and degrading superstitions, we turn to an unhesitating faith, and a sublime devotion: all around is a desert, a wilderness, and gloom; from the centre of which the Hebrew religion rises to our view, set up like a bright and shining pillar to record the creation of the world, and the God who demands the homage of his creatures.

We confess that under all these circumstances, which must have occurred, it would seem, to one so conversant with history and philosophy as Sir Wm. Drummond, it requires all the strong assurances which *Vindex* gives us, to make it credible that he had no
other

other view than to exalt the character of the Scriptures. Certainly, however, we had rather retain a friend than contend with an enemy: and since Sir William professes to hold out the right hand of amity, we will, if possible, attribute the ridicule which he has rather too freely bestowed on the literal interpretation, to his paternal anxiety about his own hypothesis: a feeling, however unphilosophical, from which philosophers are not always free, and which sometimes leads them to indulge in a warmth of expression not less unwarrantable than otherwise unaccountable. We cannot help fearing indeed, that less candid critics will rather conclude Sir Wm. Drummond to have proposed his objections against the received interpretation of the Old Testament, for the sake of his allegory, than to have resorted to the allegory for the sake of the difficulties. The question, in fact, is not, whether no passages may be culled from the sacred volume, which under the disadvantage of a verbal translation and of the alteration in style and manners, may appear liable to cavil, but whether they ever did, practically, lead to the consequences which the author apprehends. The question is not, whether misemployed ingenuity, coupled with an outrageous defiance of the decent respect with which the common feelings of mankind are wont to invest these high and holy subjects, can succeed in introducing a ludicrous image into writings of a sublime and serious import; but whether it ever did so, to the practical injury of the people to whom these writings were addressed. To this question their history returns a decided negative. But Sir Wm. Drummond, a scholar and a philosopher, and the author of an allegorical commentary, which he calls *Cædipus Judaicus*, affirms that this is their tendency. *Utri creditis, Quirites?* At any rate, as the measure of allegorising an historical narrative appears at first sight somewhat violent, however qualified by the benevolence of the intention; it seems but common prudence to require, before we submit to so harsh a remedy, some sufficient assurance of the existence of the disease: and the evidence which the case demands is not the assertion of the empiric, armed with his knife, or offering his panacea; but an actual weakness, and a visible interruption of the ordinary functions of a healthy constitution. As a proof that the Jews did not exhibit these morbid symptoms, we appeal to the religious belief inculcated in their law, declared in their worship, implied in their sacred literature, and acted upon in their code of morals.

The passages of the Old Testament with which the author of the *Cædipus Judaicus* is most inclined to quarrel (as we collect from *Vindex*) are those which record the several divine appearances. These, it seems, convey an idea of materiality. Of materiality! To whom? To the Jews? who while they addressed the Deity as 'dwelling between the cherubim,' addressed him also as
'dwelling

'dwelling with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit.' Isaiah, 57. Or to the Christians? who are expressly warned against any false interpretation by the declaration, 'No man has seen God at any time.' But as every one who is qualified to think at all upon the subject attributes these appearances to the immediate messengers of God, authorised to speak in his name: and as we do not, from our own experience, find it necessary to understand the exact nature of a communication, in order to believe that any communication was made;—we must take the liberty of passing this subject, only remarking, that it seems a little unworthy of a master of many languages, to dispute about the word 'angel,' as if he only understood English.

The principal support, however, of the allegorical system, is sought in the much disputed history of the extermination of the seven nations. The author 'thinks indeed that this history if literally understood, would lead us to form notions derogatory to the character of God, as the wise, just, and merciful governor of the world.' p. 98. Mr. D'Oyly had quoted Bishop Watson.

'You think it repugnant to God's moral justice,' says the learned Prelate to Paine, 'that he should doom to destruction the crying or smiling infants of the Canaanites. Why do you not maintain it to be repugnant to his moral justice that he should suffer crying or smiling infants to be swallowed up by an earthquake, drowned by an inundation, consumed by a fire, starved by a famine, or destroyed by a pestilence? The word of God is in perfect harmony with his works; crying or smiling infants are subjected to death in both.'—'Why do you not spurn, as spurious, the book of Nature, in which such facts (as earthquakes, &c. with all their dreadful consequences) are certainly written, and from the perusal of which, you infer the moral justice of God? You will probably reply that the evils which the Canaanites suffered from the express command of God, were different from those which are brought on mankind by the operation of the laws of nature. Different! in what? Not in the magnitude of the evil, not in the subjects of sufferance, not in the author of it.'—pp. 99, 100.

To this Vindex replies:

'I am induced to think that there was a difference. The evils inflicted on the Canaanites resulted from an extraordinary interposition of the divine authority. Evils brought on mankind by the operation of the laws of nature cannot be said to be produced by any such interposition. If the literal interpretation of the Book of Joshua be followed, it is evident that God specially interfered to destroy the seven nations. In the Book of Nature, from the perusal of which I infer the moral justice of the Deity, I can find no example of his interference with the course of nature's laws for the purpose of destroying his creatures.'—p. 103.

In spite of the distinction which this reply professes to establish,
we

we still adhere to the Bishop's argument; and cannot see that the history concludes any thing more against revelation, than the acknowledged existence of evil disproves natural religion. Whether Vindex has considered this knotty question with the accuracy it requires, we have room to doubt, when we find mention made, page 102, of 'a law of nature, permitted indeed by God to operate, but not specially ordained by him, out of the course which nature would otherwise have taken.'

The Deity, it is evident, has allowed great imperfections to exist, both in the natural and moral world. That he could have exempted either, or both, from any evil, is a necessary result of his independence and power. If therefore he could, and did not, the calamities produced by plagues and earthquakes must be attributed to his permissive plan; and that war disturbs the happiness of nations, and cuts short the lives of individuals, must be part of a series of events, present to the divine mind from the foundation of the world. Though his hand is not immediately seen in each particular instance, yet each instance is involved in the general laws established by his will. If, therefore, it was morally wrong that the course of nature should be undistinguishing, or irreparably unjust that the calamitous consequences of war should be universal, the course of nature could not have been so ordained, or the course of human affairs permitted to run into such an evil, either by the God of Deists or Christians. To apply this to the point in hand. That the exterminated nations, considered in a mass, deserved the vengeance of a moral governor by their idolatry and depravity, can no more be disproved on the one hand, than it is denied on the other that there must have been various degrees of demerit, though there was no exemption from the common fate; or that many innocent children, as in every condition and generation of the world, were involved in the punishment of their fathers' guilt. It cannot be pretended by the Deist, that in the usual course of things, uniform regard is paid to the merits of mankind. And what is the conclusion drawn from this inequality? That it will be rectified by retribution in a future state. To the horizon by which our view is bounded, we may justly attribute the perplexing appearance which many of the particular instances of evil convey to our minds: when we see brought within a narrow space what the Creator's comprehensive survey combines with the view of his general dispensations. To us it is an insulated event; to him it is a part of an immense scheme. Our minds are overwhelmed with the present distress, which the Deity sees, not with indifference, but in conjunction with other events, and with the future retribution of which we know nothing. It is not in reality more contrary to justice, that the innocent should share the fate which the guilty have deserved, than that

that virtue should be depressed, whilst vice is triumphant and prosperous. Instances of the former case are of less frequent occurrence; yet either might justly appal us, but for the conviction that the author of the law to which such inequalities are owing holds the recompense in his own hands. In the divine view, to which the eternity awaiting the sufferers under any general calamity, in all its completeness and perfection, is no less present than their immediate misery, that misery is but a point in an interminable line; and appears what it will soon appear, retrospectively, to the sufferers themselves, in comparison with the 'great and unbounded' prospect lying before them.

Vindex adds, p. 103, 'There is also a difference, I humbly think, with respect to the means employed. The unconscious elements, obeying the primordial laws which God gave to nature, sometimes desolate whole cities, and lay waste whole districts. We find that men, that moral agents, were employed to destroy the Canaanites. As moral agents, the Israelites ought not to have been cruel, unjust, rapacious. As moral agents, they ought to have believed that God cannot delight in rapine, bloodshed, and robbery, &c.' At first sight, this is plausible. But what was the situation of the Israelites? It appears on the face of their history, that at the period in question they were living under a theocracy: under the immediate superintendence of the Supreme Being, to whom they owed and paid, not only the worship due to the Creator, but the allegiance due to a temporal sovereign. Their moral duty therefore, in the present case, was simply obedience. It was not their business, though it is thought to be ours, to doubt the justice or canvass the reasons of a judicial determination, of which they were the executive ministers. Where, again, are the Israelites to learn 'that God delights in robbery and bloodshed?' In the judgment which so positively assured them, that he delights *not* in idolatry and wickedness? When they were thus individually employed to wield the sword of divine justice against a guilty nation, and to succeed to the forfeited possessions, they would see in the dispensation the fulfilment, not the violation of moral justice; and the lesson they would imbibe, would be an awful conviction of the severity with which the Moral Governor of the world, who is uniformly represented in their law as just as well as merciful, treats wickedness and punishes idolatry. It was a practical example of the destiny impending over themselves, if they yielded to the guilty actions which they had been specifically enjoined to avenge in others.

There is one, and only one more cavil, of which we cannot be content to leave Vindex in undisturbed possession. Mr. D'Oyly had justly argued, that 'amongst the Jews thus deplorably mistaken,

ken, in supposing that they were reading the history of their ancestors, when they were merely reading astronomical allegories, must be included those who lived immediately subsequent to the date of their supposed histories.' Upon this *Vindex* takes occasion to inquire, 'Was the Pentateuch certainly written by Moses, and was the book named from Joshua written by him?'

'It cannot be denied,' he continues, 'that there are many interpolations in the books mentioned above, if they be, indeed, the same that were written by Moses and Joshua. I conceive it to be needless to point them out. They are sufficiently known. But it may be doubted by some, whether these be interpolations, or not, because it does not seem necessary to consider them as such, unless it be a matter of previous determination, that we shall ascribe the books to Moses and Joshua. There may be persons, who think it sufficient for the purposes of faith to believe that these books were written by some inspired person, without insisting on their being composed by Moses and Joshua;—especially as there is no scriptural injunction, which makes this a necessary article of belief. In a book of the Scriptures, now indeed excluded from the canon, it was distinctly stated, that the books, which might have been really written by Moses and Joshua, had been lost, and that the deficiency had been supplied by the inspired Ezra. There can be no doubt that several of the most distinguished Fathers of the Church have fallen into this error, if an error it certainly be. For my own part I pretend not to make any decision. I only wish to urge, that I see nothing either absurd, or impious, in considering it as a question, upon which every one may be at liberty to think for himself.'—pp. 27, 28.

We shall not be withheld by the delicacy which is so laudable in *Vindex*, from reminding our readers that the interpolations which he thinks '*sufficiently known*,' consist in the substitution of the modern for the obsolete name of two or three towns mentioned in the Pentateuch; and in an allusion which we find in Deuteronomy to the kings of Israel, and which evidently implies a writer subsequent to the establishment of the monarchy. The former instance we naturally ascribe to an honest but misjudging copyist, who was more anxious that the sacred text should be immediately understood by his readers, than to preserve it entire; the latter was undoubtedly introduced into the text from a remark originally appended to the margin. The known effect of similar errors, which are found in every ancient writer, is to furnish strong presumption against the authenticity of the passage in which they occur; but who would pardon the critic that should question the reputation of the work in which they are found, on grounds so slight and so easy of solution, even if it had no other evidence in its favour than the general testimony of antiquity?*

In

* Whoever wishes to see the principal arguments for the genuineness and antiquity of the Pentateuch brought together within the compass of half an hour's reading, will do well

In what follows, we must observe that the exclusion of what is commonly called, the second book of Esdras, from the canon, is not the consequence of banishment, as Vindex leaves us to suppose, but of illegitimacy; and that the book is said to be '*now indeed excluded from the canon*,' with the same propriety as a man might be spoken of as now dead, who had never been born: inasmuch as it never had an existence in any canon, Jewish, Roman, Catholic, or Protestant. With respect to the alleged loss of the writings of Moses and Joshua, and the supply of their deficiency by the '*inspired Ezra*,' if this account were founded on any credible authority, it must really prove what the writer professes to have received, immediate inspiration; for this alone could transport Ezra from his own natural style, in which the return from Babylon is related, to the authoritative manner and lofty tone which characterize the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy. But as it must be totally vain to address internal evidence to a person who can read what is commonly called the second book of Esdras, without perceiving it to be the composition of a writer conversant with the Christian Scriptures, and in particular with the epistles of St. Paul: we will take other ground, and briefly ask of Vindex, how he intends to account for the agreement between the Samaritan and Jewish Pentateuch? The ancestors of the Samaritans, it is well known, seceded from their brethren soon after the death of Solomon. Allowing, therefore, the authority of the uncanonical Esdras, the coincidence between their copy, and the Hebrew, can only be ascribed to one of the three following causes: either he adopted the books from the Samaritans, which had been preserved by them as sacred and authentic during their separation; or he persuaded the bitter enemies and rivals of the tribe of Judah, to credit his imposture, and accept his forgery; or his own account must be believed to the letter, and the agreement of the copies must be referred to miraculous inspiration. Here is unquestionably a phenomenon which can only be explained by one of these solutions, and we readily leave objectors to Moses, and believers in Esdras, to take their choice among them.

It is curious, in a philosophical point of view, to observe the anomalous state of the reasoning powers exhibited by acknowledged sceptics. Their peculiarity seems to consist in a promptitude to receive any thing as true, provided it be not confirmed by revelation. They cannot think it credible, that God should declare to man the purpose of his being. They cannot believe, that in order to prepare the way for a more general promulgation of his coun-

well to consult a pamphlet by Dr. Marsh, entitled '*The Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses vindicated*,' in which the objections here alluded to are refuted with all the acuteness and perspicuity which so eminently characterize the learned professor.

sels,

sels, he preserved among a particular people the records of the creation,—that he testified his existence, and bore witness to his design, by rescuing that people from bondage through miraculous interpositions of power:—that he assigned them a particular country, and prescribed to their observance peculiar ceremonies, as a memorial of the miraculous evidence by which he had proclaimed them the chosen depositaries of the records entrusted to them:—that, finally, he forbade them, under pain of grievous national misfortunes, from adhering or apostatising to the senseless idolatry of the neighbouring nations, but enjoined them to worship one God, as the creator of the world, who had given them sensible evidence of his existence and power. This, it seems, a deist cannot reconcile to his ideas of credibility; notwithstanding its apparent agreement with reason, and the general situation of mankind; notwithstanding the phenomena which are solved by its truth, and the difficulties which embarrass its rejection; notwithstanding the evidence of a long series of writings by which it is supported, and the historical testimony by which it is confirmed. But the stubbornness of the sceptics' incredulity in some cases, bears no proportion to the avidity of their belief in others. They *can* believe that God created man; and left him ignorant of the circumstances of his origin: that he gave him a mind capable of receiving ideas, yet did not enable him to express those ideas in language. They *can* believe that a nation existed, venerating certain monuments, and sacredly observing certain institutions, in memory of certain events, which events never took place:—a nation annually celebrating a very particular ceremony, and habitually consecrating all their first-born male children, in memory of a deliverance, which never occurred—a nation possessing laws expressly founded on facts of which the records are interwoven with them, and which appeal to the knowledge of the facts professed by the first receivers of the law, when the facts themselves never happened. They *can* believe, that the Jewish people received themselves, and entailed upon their posterity, without any assignable cause, statutes expressly forbidding them to intermix with other nations, though they were anxiously desirous of that seemingly innocent intercourse; statutes binding them to abstain, on certain appointed seasons, from business and amusement; to leave their land uncultivated one year in seven, and to desert their abodes and go up to their capital annually,—and all this on pain of certain imaginary vengeance to be inflicted by they knew not whom. Lastly, they *can* believe, that the people, in gratitude for these burthensome edicts, held their law in such veneration as to read parts of it publicly once in seven days, and the whole of it every seventh year; not allowing the lapse of time, or change of cir-

cumstances to justify the wilful alteration of a single letter of the original; and were so zealous in defence of this voluntary burthen, as to sacrifice their lives in vindication of it—for no stronger reason, or more cogent obligation, than because it had been promulgated by one of their fallible ancestors. Surely, these symptoms of infidel credulity betray strong proofs of a diseased state of the intellectual organs. At all events, they may satisfy us that believers are not alone subject to the charge of undervaluing the laws of evidence; of overlooking difficulties and embracing inconsistencies, or of subscribing to the strong language of the ancient father, *Credo, quia impossibile est.*

ART. V. *Vagaries Vindicated; or, Hypocritic Hypercritics.*
A Poem addressed to the Reviewers. By George Colman the Younger. London. 1813.

THE first virtue of a Reviewer, and that for which, in general, he gets the least credit, is *patience*. To read, to quote, to dissect dulness and absurdity, are tolerable, or perhaps we should say, intolerable trials of temper: but to abstain from answering our answerers, is (and of this we may be permitted to judge) the greatest exertion of critical self-denial. Our angry antagonists are so sure to be in the wrong, and to prove us in the right, to flicker about the light which we hold out to them till they burn their wings, that it is with the utmost difficulty we refrain from saying in a succeeding Number, that our 'observations on — and — have been enforced and elucidated with laudable accuracy, but rather too much of satiric severity, by — and — themselves, in their admirable "Answers to the unfounded Aspersions, &c. &c."'

But—'laud we the Gods!' here is 'an answer' which we may, nay, which we must notice. It professes to be not merely an answer, but, in one sense, an original work, and not an original work only, but a *poem*,—a regular poem, of eight hundred or a thousand heroic lines!—magnificently printed in quarto, with appropriate mottos in Latin and English, an Advertisement abounding with fury and pleasantry, and notes amounting almost to the dignity of a perpetual commentary.

Our *senior-junior*, 'George Colman the Younger,' has printed (we dare not say published) this exquisite poem to prove two things, First, That the dulness and obscenity of his former work are perfectly justifiable, and that our reprehension of these laudable characteristics was perfectly unjustifiable; Secondly, That he despises our reprehensions aforesaid, and treats them with *silent contempt* and *utter indifference*. And we must in candour confess; that

that his poem proves the truth of the first of his positions, just as strongly as it does that of the second.

His leading argument in defence of his obscenity is expressed in the following very cogent lines—

'Once more, then, to my first imputed crime,—
Those double meanings that disgrace my rhyme;
Why, all who understand them know no more
Of evil, than they understood before;
And all who do not, are no wiser grown,
Would critics let the simple souls alone.'

By this reasoning our readers will observe, that nothing can be more innocent than the grossest double entendres, the most downright filth, because, according to this excellent dilemma, those who understand the obscenity understood it before, and those who did not understand it before, would still remain in utter ignorance, but for the mischievous zeal of critics, who explain these horrors to uninitiated innocence.

Now, if we had followed this author with a dirty commentary, if we had explained and glossed upon his filthy innuendos, we should have been almost as bad as himself; and he would have had good ground (not indeed of self-exculpation, but) of accusation against us. But certainly our remarks are not liable to this imputation; we were not so wanting in taste and decency as to quote any of his double or his single meanings. Of his dulness and absurdity we gave, to our own annoyance and the disgust of our readers, some specimens; but of his *other* quality, we contented ourselves with saying that he eminently possessed it: and we had too much respect for our office, our readers, and ourselves, to descend into particulars and run the risk of spreading the contagion, by exhibiting the spots and plague-marks of his infected *Vagaries*.

For the same reasons we shall not now pursue him into the other parts of his defence,—*defence* do we say! his *applause*, of

———— 'the laugh-exciting equivoue,
The salt allusion, and the broader joke.—p. 58.

For all reviewers, but for us in particular, he entertains, as we have already hinted, the most profound, but the most *silent*, contempt, which he expresses somewhat in the Irish mode, by the most violent and obstreperous abuse.—Take a sample—

'Come, *hackney'd* critic, shock'd at every speck
In my o'er censured Lady of the Wreck;
Pope of a *prostituted* press; who choose
To thunder bulls against a *trifling* muse;
A half Tenth Leo—*sensual* as he,
But no encourager of poetry:

Come, canting Chiron—*Mentor* from a stew;
Venal impartialist of a Review; &c.—p. 12.

All this perhaps may have a meaning; probably, if it resembles the rest of this ingenious author's works, it may even have a *double* meaning, but that it can in any case mean indifference and silent contempt of his critics, is what Mr. Colman, or even an abler advocate of absurdity, would find it hard to convince us.

But we must not give up too much time to Mr. Colman and his Answer. If we were malevolent towards him, we should make large extracts from his 'poem;' but we have no enmity to him or to 'his trifling muse,' as with great truth and candour he characterizes his intellect; he may *trifle* as long as he will, but he shall not *corrupt*, not at least undetected and unchastised.

Mr. Colman affects a taste for Shakespeare; we hope he will thank us for recalling and recommending to his serious consideration the admonitory observation which Henry the Fifth addresses to one who had a thousand times more gaiety and wit, and not many more years than Mr. George Colman the Younger—

— 'Fall to thy prayers, old man:
 How ill white hairs become a fool and jester!'

ART. VI. ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ἩΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΙ. *Euripidis Heracidae.*

Ex recensione Petri Elmsley, A. M. *qui annotationes suas et aliorum selectas adjecit.* Oxonii, excudebat Samuel Collingwood. 1813. pp. 144.

IF the comparative merit of the three great tragedians were to be estimated from the quantity of their writings which have been preserved to us, Euripides would undoubtedly bear off the palm: and it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that the critics of antiquity thought most highly of that poet, whose works have been handed down to posterity the least impaired. Certain it is that Euripides was more universally read than either of his brother tragedians; his poems are more frequently cited for the purposes of illustration by writers on ethics; and we know that Chrysippus made such extensive use of the *Medea* of Euripides in a certain treatise, that the work was called in derision, 'the *Medea* of Chrysippus.' In point of fact, however, these circumstances afford but an uncertain criterion; since other causes may be assigned, sufficient to account for the superior care with which the tragedies of Euripides seem to have been preserved. One is to be found in his moralizing and sentimental turn; and in the vast number of precepts applicable to the ordinary relations of life, interspersed through all his writings. In the perusal of his plays we see no traces of that
‘*finis*

'fine frenzy' which bursts out in almost every scene of Aeschylus; our attention is not kept on the stretch by that sustained and majestic tone which is the peculiar characteristic of Sophocles; but there is more which comes home to every man's reason and feelings, less poetry indeed, but more common sense. Euripides was unquestionably a more attentive observer of human nature than either of his predecessors in the drama; he was more versed in the learning of the times, and a better philosopher. In the first and last of these points his superiority was so conspicuous, that his enemies (of whom he seems to have had not a few) insinuated that he was assisted in the composition of his dramas by Socrates. Hence his plays were better adapted for the instruction of youth, and more frequently cited by writers on ethics and physics: the natural consequence of which was, the multiplication of copies of his works. A poet who expressed, in simple and perspicuous language, precepts adapted to the mechanic and the husbandman, no less than to the hero or the king, and who clothed in melodious numbers the most abstruse doctrines of natural as well as moral philosophy, would of course be more generally read than those, whose superior polish or loftier flights of poetry could be justly appreciated only by men of refined feeling and liberal education. And that this was the case with Euripides, is proved in a remarkable manner, by the well-known story of the Athenian captives, who returned after the Sicilian expedition, from which it appears, that even the common people of Athens had the verses of this poet at their fingers' ends.

The peculiar merit of Euripides is thus sensibly and shortly stated by a critic of antiquity. 'Menander's accurate and graceful delineations of character, surpassed all the strength and raciness of the older comic poets; and the sweetness and persuasiveness of Euripides, although it fall short of the dignified elevation of tragedy, render him very useful to a man engaged in active life, and powerful in representing the manners and passions of his characters. Being not unskilled in philosophy, he intermingles with his poetry precepts and axioms serviceable to all conditions of men.'

From these causes it proceeds, that the general estimation in which the plays of Euripides were held, is by no means inconsistent with the fact of his poetical inferiority; a fact, of which we know, from the testimony of Aristophanes and Dio Chrysostom, that the critics both of the same and subsequent ages were sufficiently sensible. Both those excellent judges condemn in him as a defect, the very quality, which probably procured to his works so general a circulation, viz. his sententiousness. Euripides was lamentably given to moralize. In the very midst of some pathetic apostrophe or burst of passion, an impertinent γνώμη foists itself in, and

destroys all the effect. In the *Supplices*, Adrastus, in the greatest distress, makes piteous application to Theseus, prostrating himself on the ground and embracing his knees. Theseus, instead of answering, begins a soliloquy on the sum of human happiness and misery, between which he institutes a comparison extended through fifty lines, the result of which is, that there are three orders of citizens, of which the middle one is best behaved, and in consequence he professes himself unable to give any assistance to Adrastus. Some editors of ancient authors have, with a laudable regard for their readers, taken care to indicate the occurrence of a *gnome*, by planting opposite to it a finger post, or by inclosing it in inverted commas; the obvious purpose of which is, to point out all those parts which may be omitted without detriment to the sense. By means of this device we are enabled to go very expeditiously through Euripides, who is decorated with as many of these direction-posts as any of the cross ways in the neighbourhood of London.

Another gross fault in Euripides is the introduction of low or ridiculous characters, or of ludicrous speeches in the mouth of grave personages. If it has been objected to him that he makes his slaves and heralds talk like philosophers and princes, it is no less true that his kings and heroes sometimes descend from the elevation of the buskin into low and colloquial phraseology. Every reader of taste must be disgusted with the vulgar and absurd scene of the *Orestes*, in which the Phrygian slave is introduced. At v. 729 of the play before us is a remarkable instance in which the judgment of the poet forsook him, or accommodated itself to the humour of the spectators. The low jocularly of the servant, and the energetic feebleness of Iolaus, who hobbles slowly across the stage praising his own celerity and vigour, reminds us of the valour of Sir Andrew Aguecheek. The voraciousness of Hercules, the great *gourmand* of antiquity, is injudiciously displayed in the most interesting and critical part of the *Alcestis*, and it is not in the dignified tone of royalty that Menelaus threatens to give an old man a bloody coxcomb, who refuses to deliver up to him a certain letter. The principal defects of Euripides are well summed up in the following words. Τὸ δὲ πανουργὸν, κομψοπρεπὲς τε καὶ γναμολογικὸν, ἀλλότριον τῆς τραγῳδίας. Of his inconsistency there are many instances; some of which Musgrave has noticed in the present play. It was remarked of him long ago, ἐναντία πολλάκις ἑαυτῷ λέγει.

Of the seventeen tragedies of Euripides which have survived the general wreck of literature, those which stand first in the common arrangement, are unquestionably the first also in merit. And this probably is the reason, why they have experienced the fate of favourite children, who have been caressed and nursed up, while the younger branches of the family lay in piteous plight, crying in
vain

vain for assistance. So much has been done for the first seven or eight plays by skilful bonesetters, that we have them now tolerably free from dislocations and flaws, and in so respectable a condition, that they would probably be recognized by Euripides as his legitimate offspring. One or two indeed have fallen under the hands of very violent operators, and have been almost entirely rebuilt upon a new model, ὥστε μηδένα Γυνῶναι φίλων ἰδόντ' ἂν ἄθλιον δέμας, while the remainder have been obliged to rest contented with an occasional visit bestowed upon them ἐν παρόδῳ by some compassionate critic, and to envy the more fortunate lot of their elder brothers and sisters.

The Heraclidæ, who experienced rough treatment during their lifetime, have long remained in a neglected state, without any particular demerit on their part; on the contrary M. Prévost, who made them a present of a French dress, thinks them a very deserving family. It was therefore with great pleasure that we found them introduced to us by Mr. Elmsley, washed and combed, and their clothes neatly mended. They are now fit company for genteel people; and may take their place by the side of the queen of Troy, the prince of Argos, the fifteen Phœnician ladies, and the princess royal of Colchos.

Mr. Elmsley in the volume before us gives a corrected text, a collation of the Aldine edition, select annotations of preceding commentators, and his own very valuable remarks. We are certainly under the full influence of that laudable propensity of critics, which disposes us to find fault; but we are nevertheless compelled to acknowledge, that Mr. Elmsley's annotations are one of the happiest mixtures of critical and illustrative remark that has ever been bestowed upon any portion of the Greek drama. We do not agree with him in all his restorations of the text, nor in all his interpretations, and we shall freely state the grounds of our dissent; but these points of difference are few and unimportant, in comparison of the instances in which we recognize the hand of the skilful critic and the judicious interpreter. We shall now specify the principal features which distinguish the present from preceding editions, and suggest to Mr. Elmsley's consideration a few remarks which may perhaps tend to its further improvement.

V. 1. Πάλαι ποτ' ἰστὶ τοῦτ' ἰμοὶ δεδογμένον. We prefer τοῦτό μοι δεδογμένον, the reading of Stobæus. The emphasis should be thrown upon τοῦτο, and not upon the pronoun, which to a certain degree it is, as the verse now stands. The same reasoning does not apply to v. 818. of the *Medea*.

3. Ὁ δ' εἰς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ' ἔχον ἀνιμῖνον. '*Propensum in lucrum plerique interpretes. Malum lucro deditum.*' P. E. We render it, *solutum in lucrum*. Virgil. *Aen.* IV. 530. *Solvitur in somnos*. Georg. IV. 198. *nec cor-*

pora segnes In Venerem solvunt. Herod. II. 175. ἀνίας ἰαυτὸν ἐς παύσιν. Androm. 723. Ἀνιμῖνος τι χρῆμα προσβυτῶν γίνος. i. e. *solutum in iram.* Plato Rep. VIII. p. 447. ἀναιδὸς καὶ λίαν ἀνιμῖνος. i. e. *solutus.*

7. Ἐξὸν κατ' Ἄργος ἡσύχως κείναι—ἡσύχω. P. E. We prefer Mr. Elmsley's second correction, ἡσύχω, which he rejects. Aesch. Eum. 888. Ἐξίστι γάρ σοι τῆσδε γαμέρων χθονὸς εἶναι δικαίως εἰς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένη. [*Vulg.* τῆσδε γ' εὐμοίρου. Aldus τῆσδε γ' ἀμοίρου.] Soph. El. 911. ἤγε μὲν πρὸς θεοὺς ἔξιστ' ἀκλαύστῳ τῆσδ' ἀποστῆναι στήγης. V. 366. οὐ δ', ἐξὸν πατὴρ Πάντῳ ἀρίστου παιδὶ κικλῆσθαι. [*Vulg.* παῖδα.]

8. πῶν Πλείστον μισέσχοι εἰς ἀνὴρ Ἡρακλῆι. — Πλείστον P. E. a correction which we do not think necessary. Aesch. Pers. 325. Κιλίκων ἱπάρχος, εἰς ἀνὴρ Πλείστον πῶν Ἐχθροῖς παρὰσχόν. Soph. Trach. 460. οἰχί χἀτίρας Πλείστας ἀνὴρ εἰς Ἡρακλῆς ἱγνυμὶ δῆ; Herodot. VI. 127, ὃς ἐπὶ Πλείστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπικέτο. The phrase εἰς ἀνὴρ occurs also Soph. Oed. T. 1380. Κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ εἰς ἱ γι ταῖς Θύβαις τραφεῖς. Xenoph. Anab. I. ix. 12. Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ Πλείστοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἰὶ γι ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἰφ' ἡμῶν, ἱπθυμῆσαι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἰαυτῶν σώματα προῖσθαι. Ibid. 22. Δῶρα δὲ Πλείστα μὲν, οἶμαι, εἰς γι ἀνὴρ ὦν, ἰλάμβαναι διὰ πολλὰ.

19. Πέρμπων ὅπῃ γῆς πυθάνοντ' ἰδρυμένους. Mr. Elmsley reads ὅποι, and quotes Mr. Porson's authority for taking ὅποι, *quasi esset ὅπου*. Our opinion is this; ὅποι signified *whither*, and ὅπου *where*; and when the sense required ὅπου and the metre admitted it, we do not think it probable that a Grecian would have used ὅποι. The copyists, we know, perpetually interchanged ποῦ, ποῖ, and πῶ, and since we may preserve an uniformity of usage, without injury to the metre, the laws of sound criticism oblige us so to do, rather than retain a word which signifies one thing, and say that it must be taken *as if it were* quite another. In v. 529. where the construction is precisely similar to that of the verse before us, Mr. E. retains the common reading, Ἠγείσθ', ὅπου δὲ σώμα κατθανεῖν τέδε. In v. 46. for Ζητοῦσ', ὅπῃ γῆς πύργον οἰκούμεθα, he gives ὅποι. One MS. has ὅπου, the true reading. Soph. Oed. 369. Ζητοῦσα τὴν σὴν, ποῦ κατοικεῖν, τροφῆν. In v. 744 of the Helena, ὡς ἔχοντ' οὐρηκας, εὐ τ' ἰσμεν τέχνης is Tyrwhitt's correction. *Vulg.* εἰ τ' ἰσμεν.

21. Πόλιν προτιμῶν Ἄργος αὐ σμικρὰν φίλων Ἐχθρὰν γι θίσθαι, χ' αὐτὸν αὐτοχτοῦντ' ἄμα. Mr. Elmsley adopts προτίμω, the correction of Canter, and conjectures that φίλοις should be substituted for φίλων, but remarks in the notes, 'Conjecturam meam, προτίμω φίλοις, hodie supervacaneam esse suspicor. Genitivum enim in simili locutione adhibet Herodotus IX. 4. Ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπίσταλιν, προίχων μὲν Ἀθηναίῳ οὐ φιλικῆς γνώμας, ὑπὲρ δὲ σφίας ὑπῆσαν τῆς ἀγνυμοσύνης, ὡς δορυαλῶτον ἰούσης πάσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας. Now, that the words προίχων μὲν, &c. cannot mean *holding out to the Athenians no friendly intentions*, is clear, for more reasons than one. In the first place, Mardonius did hold out to the Athenians friendly intentions, and sent both embassies for that very purpose, Μηδὲν μεγάλα προτιμῶντι, ἰφ' οἷσι ἀμολογίῃν ἰδίλουσι. Secondly the sense which Mr. Elmsley gives to προίχων, belongs solely to the middle voice προίχουσθαι; See Thom. Magist. p. 740. Duker on Thucyd. I. 140. Valckenaer. Callim. Eleg. p. 224. Aem. Port. Lex. Ion. in v. We suspect that for προίχων Herodotus used some such word as προοίμω. The

The passage of Euripides ought, we conceive, to stand thus; Πάλλας προτινὺν Ἄργος, εὐ σμικρὰν φίλον ἔχθραν τ' ἴσθαι. Holding out to them, that Argos would be no contemptible friend, and no contemptible foe. This is confirmed by v. 156, where the same alternative is held out by Copeus. At all events φίλον must not be coupled with προτινὺν, which requires a dative case, as in Aesch. Prom. 775. Eurip. in Stob. p. 453.* Lastly we do not think, with Mr. Elmsley, that καὶ is united to αὐτὸν by *crasis*, but that it suffers elision, and should be written χ' αὐτὸν rather than χαὐτόν. Thus χ' ὤσπερ is for καὶ ὤσπερ, and χῶσπερ or χῶσπερ for καὶ ὥσπερ. In v. 174, are the words χ' ὦν μίσω πολλὸς χρόνος. Mr. Elmsley remarks, 'Ex ὁ is fit οὐν, ex καὶ οὐν, χεῖν, quod repositi.' We should proceed thus: from καὶ and ὁ is formed χ' ὦ, and from χ' ὦ is formed χ' ὦν. Mr. Elmsley prints ὅτ' ἄν for ὅταν. We think that ἔταν, ὁπότες and ἰωνιδᾶς were anciently written as one word, and that their component particles, as the Grammarians say, *arctissime cohererent*. Thus ἰᾶν is compounded of ἰ ἄν, *if by chance*, ἰωνιδᾶς is ἰωνὶ τῶ, *after these things*, which was shortened into ἰῖτα. If ὅτ' ἄν were written separately, we should probably find some passage, where a word is interposed between the two particles, of which we do not remember an instance.

38. τῆνδ' ἀφικόμεισθ' ὄρεν. Other editors have ὀδῶν, which is also adopted by Mr. Elmsley, who observes, 'Ζηδίων pro ζορίων restituendum Scholiastæ ad Apoll. Rhod. I. 1265.' The passage is this, ἰ δὲ ὀστρος, ἐν τῶν πεταμοῦ ἐπιπλεόντων ζορίων, where ζορίων is a mere blunder of the Oxford printers; the Edition of H. Stephens has ζωαρίων, as it is cited by Phavorinus p. 1286, 9.

52. εἰθ' ὄλοιο, χῶ πύμψας ἀνὴρ. — πύμψας σ' ἀνὴρ tacite et præter necessitatem Barnesius. P. E. Barnes's correction is not indeed necessary, but we think it highly probable. Alcest. 754. Ἐρρίοις νυν αὐτὸς χ' ἢ ξυνοικήσά σοι. In v. 519, of the Supplices of Aeschylus Mr. Porson restored Οὔτοι περτωτοῖς ἀρπαγαῖς Σ' ἰκδύσομεν.

53. ὥς πολλὰ δὴ—ἥγγιλας κακὰ.—ὥς πολλὰ δὴ P. E. a correction which we do not conceive to be absolutely necessary. ὥς does not signify *adeo*, as the Latin version has it; but is used for ἰωνί, as in Hecub. 971. Phoen. 1678. Orest. 795. 1603. Hipp. 1115. Alc. 207. 800. Suppl. 394. Cycl. 167. Soph. Ant. 66. Aj. 274. Phil. 118. El. 470. Aesch. Prom. 517. 1066. Theb. 980. Pers. 563. It is also to be restored to Oed. Col. 45. for ὥστ'.

64. Οὔτοι βία γ' ἴμ', οὐδὲ τοῦσδ' ἄξιος λαβών. * Vim particularum οὔτοι—γε in hoc versu melius Anglice quam Latine explicare possum, Surely you will not take us away by force. A more accurate translation would be, Assuredly you shall not take us away by force. The particles οὐ τοι, to the best of our recollection, are never used except in positive assertions, where no doubt is expressed. See Alc. 718. Phoen.

* Helen. 452. Ἄ' μὴ προτίνα χεῖρα, μὴδ' ἄθει βία. We had formerly corrected, Ἄ' μὴ πρότινα χεῖρα. Now, however, we believe the true reading to be, Ἄ' μὴ πρότινα χεῖρα. Here. Fur. 1218. Τί μοι προτίνα χεῖρα, σημαίνεις φέων; Read, Τί' αὖ, προτίνα χεῖρα, σημαίνεις φέων; or, Τί' αὖ προτίνα, χεῖρ' σημαίνεις, φέων; Thucyd. VI. 86. ἄλλοι προτίνα φέων. See Ruhken on Timæus, v. 644.

462. Aesch. Theb. 242. Soph. Oed. C. 176. Οὔτοι μὲν ποτὶ σ' ἐν τῷ δ' ἄδραναι, ὦ γέρον, ἀκουσά τις ἄξω. Aristoph. Plut. 64. Οὔτοι, μὰ τὴν Διὸς μητέρα, χαίρεσσις ἔτι. Eur. Med. 923. Οὔτῃ σοὶ ἀπιστήσω λόγους. We do not remember whether οὔτοι is ever followed by γι except in the formula οὐ τᾶρα—γι. In the sense which Mr. Elmsley proposes, Euripides would have written Οὐ μὴν βία γ' ἴμ', οὔτε τοῖσδ' ἄξεις λαβὼν; as in Alc. 618. Οὐ μὴν γυνή γ' ἔλῃαι Ἀλεχστis σίνει; Surely your good lady is not dead? We think the verse before us should be read thus, Οὔτοι βίῃ σὺ μ', οὔτε τοῖσδ' ἄξεις λαβὼν.

68. Ἄξω, κομίζων οὐπὲρ εἰς, Εὐρυσθέως.—Κομίζων. P. E.

70. ἀγοραίου Διός. Musgrave says that, unless there was a Ζεὺς Ἀγοραῖος at Marathon as well as at Athens, the poet forgets himself. Mr. Elmsley remarks, 'Si ἀγορὰ Marathone fuit, verisimile est Jovis Ἀγοραίου aram ibi fuisse.' We apprehend that every δῆμος had its ἀγορά. Colonus had, which was nearer to Athens than Marathon. See Meurs. Reliq. Attic. p. 23.

77. πῖταις.—Mr. Elmsley gives πῖταις, and explodes the contracted form πῖταις, justly, as we think.

92. ἀλλὰ τοῦ ποτι Ἐν χερὶ σὴ κομίζεις κόρους—ποτρυφίς φράσων. These verses should undoubtedly form an iambic senarius. Mr. Seidler, with Barnes and Musgrave, reads Χερὶ σὴ κομίζεις ποτρυφίς κόρους, φράσων. We propose Χερὶ κομίζεις ποτρυφίς κόρους, φράσων. In the disposition of this chorus Mr. Elmsley follows Hermann, but judiciously restores Εὐβρόδ' ἀκτὰν for Εὐβρόδ' in v. 84. ὠτόμαζεν λιὼς for ὠτόμαζι λαὸς in v. 88. and πόλιος for πόλιος v. 96. In v. 84, we should prefer Εὐβρόδ' ἀκτὰν.

106. Ἐκπιπτι νῦν γῆς τοῖσδε τοὺς Εὐρυσθέως—τῷσδε P. E. It appears to us that τοῖσδε is necessary in the early state of this conference. So v. 124. παῖδες οἶδε. 137. ἄξονται τοῖσδε. 153. τὰς τῷ δ' ἀβούλου ξυμφοράς. Cf. 159. 169. 172. 267.

119. Καὶ μὴν ὅδ' αὐτὸς ἔρχεται σπουδὴν ἔχων. Mr. Elmsley notices this usage of the particles καὶ μὴν upon the approach of a new personage, as in Hec. 665. Or. 348. 456. We add Or. 1010. Phoen. 453. Alc. 506. 1006. Andr. 494. 543. 880. 913. 1155. Suppl. 980. 1031. Iph. T. 236. Tro. 230. 1207. Ion. 1257. El. 339. Aesch. Theb. 372. Soph. Oed. C. 549. 1249. Ant. 526. 1257. El. 1422. Inc. Rhes. 85. 527. In all of which instances these particles are followed by ὅδε or its cases. See also Antig. 1180. In v. 1115 of the Medea, Καὶ δὴ δίδομαι τῷ δὲ τῶν Ἰάσονος Στείχοντ' ὀπαδῶν, Mr. Porson ought unquestionably to have adopted Valckenauer's correction, Καὶ μὴν δίδομαι. The particles καὶ δὴ are never used in this formula. We remember only one instance of ἀλλὰ μὴ similarly circumstanced, viz. Orest. 1565. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῷ δὲ λίσσων Μινίλειον δόμον πύλας. Read, Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῷ δὲ λίσσων. Phoen. 1328. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Κρίοντα λίσσων τῷ δὲ διῦρο συνιφεῖ Πρὸς δόμον στείχοντα. Hippol. 51. Ἀλλ' εἰσεῖν γὰρ τῷ δὲ παῖδα Θεσίως Στείχοντα. Ion. 393. Ἀλλ', ὦ ξίε', εἰσεῖν γὰρ εὐγενὴ πόσιν Εὐδοῖον πύλας δὴ τῷ δὲ. Herc. F. 139. Ἀλλ' εἰσεῖν γὰρ τῷ δὲ κοίραναι χθονὸς Λύκειοι παρόντα τῷ δὲ δωμάτων πύλας. (not τῷ δὲ δωματίων, as in the editions.) *ibid.* 442. Ἀλλ' εἰσεῖν γὰρ τοῖσδε. El. 107. Ἀλλ' εἰσεῖν γὰρ τῷ δὲ προσπόλωνι τινά. Aesch. Theb. 861. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔκουσ' αἰὲν ἐπὶ πρῶτος Πικρὸν Ἀντιγόη τ' ἔδ' Ἰσμήνη. Soph. Ant. 155. Ἀλλ'.

'Αλλ' οὐ γὰρ δὴ βασιλεὺς χώρας τῆσδε. Once only we have found the simple particle μὲν in a similar situation. Soph. Ant. 626. 'Ὁδὲ μὲν Αἴμων. Mr. Elmsley observes, that καὶ μὲν in the above formula is not followed by γι in the same sentence, 'quod in diversa significatione plerumque post eas collocatur.' The particles καὶ μὲν occur without γι in Alc. 653. Suppl. 1009. Aesch. Prom. 254. 1080. Theb. 446. Choeph. 172. Soph. Oed. T. 1005. Ant. 558. 1054. In the Alcestis, v. 713, for Καὶ μὲν Διὸς γι μίξοι' αἶ ζῶις χρόνιοι, read, μίξοιζα ζῶις χρόνιοι.

141. 'Εκ τῆς ἱμαντοῦ δραπέτας τοῦτους ἔχον. Mr. Elmsley prints 'Εκ γῆς ἱμαντοῦ, but afterwards properly recalls the old reading. Xenoph. Cyr. I. p. 14. ἔξω τῆς ἱαντῶν. Anab. IV. viii. 6. ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔρχοσθι. For δραπέτας τοῦτους, Scaliger and Barnes read τοῦσδε δραπέτας, which we prefer, with Mr. Elmsley. Sophocles. *ap. Stob.* l. ix. p. 227. Grot. Τί τοῦδε χάσμα μίξοι αἶ λαβοῖς ποτι.—For τοῦδε the edition of Trincavellus has τοῦτου. Plutarch in *Emil. Paul.* sub init. quotes, Φῦ, Φῦ τί τοῦτου χάσμα μίξοι αἶ λαβοῖς—which is probably the genuine verse of Sophocles, though it is there cited without the author's name. The whole fragment we would read as follows, Φῦ, Φῦ, τί τοῦτου χάσμα μίξοι αἶ λαβοῖς, 'Ἢ γῆς ἐπιψαύσαι τε, καὶ ὑπὸ στήγῃ Πυκτῆς ἀκοῦσαι ψικαδὸς εὐδούσῃ φρενί; We cannot forbear enlivening the dulness of our minute criticisms by comparing the above fragment with the following lines of Tibullus l. i. 45. *Quam juvat immites ventos audire cubantem, Et dominam tenero continuisse sinu! Aut gelidas hybernus aquas cum fuderit Auster, Securus somnos, imbre juvante, sequi.*

O, when the growling winds contend, and all
The sounding forest fluctuates in the storm,
To sink in warm repose, and hear the din
Howl o'er the steady battlements, delights
Above the luxury of vulgar sleep.

ARMSTRONG, *Art of Health*, I. 288.

To return to our Greek, Aesch. Pers. 733. Ναί' λόγος κρατεῖ σαφηνές τοῦτό γ' οὐκ ἔνι στάσις. Read, τῷδε γ' οὐκ ἔνι στάσις, which was first changed into τούτω γ' and then into τοῦτό γ'. Compare with the old editions Soph. Phil. 1203. El. 230. and see Eurip. Hecub. 310. as cited by Aspasius in Aristot. fol. 1. b. Phaethon Fragm. III.

144. Αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτῶν. Nos in nosmet. κατ' αὐτῶν P. E. who says, 'Persuasum habeo, Sophoclem et Euripidem nunquam αὐτὸν et similia de prima aut secunda persona usurpasse.'

145. Πολλῶν δὲ κάλλων. 'Notæ sunt locutiones πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι, πολλὰ καὶ δινα, πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ, et similes, in quibus καὶ nihil sententiae addit. Noster Suppl. 573. Πολλοὺς ἔτλην δὲ χυτέρους ἄλλους πόνους.' P. E. This mode of expression was familiar to all the best writers. Homer Il. X. 44. 'Ὅς μ' εἶδεν πολλῶν τε καὶ ἰσθλῶν εἶναι ἔθηκε. Theognis. 426. Πολλοὺς αἶν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον. Hecataeus *ap. Demetr. de Eloc.* 12. οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνας λόγους πολλοὶ τε καὶ γυλαῖοι. Aesch. Pers. 244. 'Ὅστι Δαρείου πολὺν τε καὶ καλὸν φείρειν στρατόν. Agam. 63. Πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοβαρῆ. Soph. Trach. fin. Πολλὰ δὲ πῆματα καὶ καινοπαθῆ. Eurip.

Alci

Alc. 708. ἀκούσεις πολλά καὶ ψευδῆ κακά. Andr. 942. πολλά καὶ κακά. Chionides ap. Polluc. X. 43. Πολλοὺς ἰγῶδα καὶ κατὰ σὶ μαρίας. Plato Lys. p. 106. πολλοὶ καὶ καλοὶ. Xenoph. Symp. p. 152. ed. Schneider. πολλά καὶ σοφὰ λόγιον. Demosth. Ol. III. 9. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καλὰ.

153. ξυμφορὰς κατοικτίσιν—κατοικτιῖν P. E. Alcest. 700. Εἰ τῆς παρούσας καθάνειν πείσεις αἰετὶ Γυναιχ' ἐπὶ σοῦ, κῆρ' οὐκιδίξει φίλος. Read οὐκιδίξει.

154. Φίρ' ἀλλήθεις γὰρ, τοῖσδε τ' εἰς γαῖαν παρὶς, Ἡμῶς τ' ἰάσας ἱθάγιον, τί κερδανίς; The Latin version has, *hos dimittens in nostram terram*. It should be, *his admissis in tuam terram*. Suppl. 468. ἀπαυδῶ—Ἀδραστοὶ εἰς γῆν τῶνδ' μὴ παρίσται. In the verse before us τοῖσδε τ' is Reiske's correction for τοῦσδε γ'. Androm. 809. Ἡ καθάσθην, κτείνουσα τοὺς οὐ χρεῖν κτανῶν. Read κτείνουσά γ' οὗς.

164. πῶτα πιδί' ἀφαιριθεὶς Τυρινθίους θῆς πόλεμον Ἀργείοις ἔχουσιν; Mr. Elmsley very happily restores Τυρινθίας γῆς.

169. Mr. Elmsley quotes a fragment of Alcæus, of which the concluding words are, Τὸδ' εὖ γὰρ κῦμα τῷ προτέρῳ νομοῦ Στείχει, παρίξει δ' ἄμμι πῶτος πολλὸν Ἀτλῆν. He corrects πῶτος πολλὸν Ἀτλῆν. Mr. Gaisford in his notes on Haphæstion p. 336. had previously restored πολλὸν, and reads the preceding words thus, τὸδ' εὖτε κῦμα τῷ προτέρῳ νομῷ. We think the following correction more plausible. Τὸδ' αὖ τὸ κῦμα τῷ προτέρῳ ὅμοι Στείχει. This second wave comes on like the former. A description probably followed of the third wave, or τρικυμία.

173. Μάχονται ἀνηβῆσαντες. Cum verbum ἀνηβῶν semper significet *repubescece*, literis sejunctis emendandum Μάχονται ἂν ἡβήσαντες. Pierson Verisim. p. 176 quoted by Mr. Elmsley. The correction is right, but not the reason. ἀνηβῶν sometimes means simply *to grow up*. Callim. H. Jov. 56. Ὀξὺ δ' ἀνέβησας, ταχίνοι δὲ τοὶ ἡλδοὶ ἰουλοὶ. where see Ernesti's note. Hesiod. Op. Di. 116. Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡβήσῃς, καὶ ἔβης μέτρον ἰκοῖτο. Read, Ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀνέβησιν. A contrary fault in Aesch. Suppl. 601. was corrected by Mr. Tyrwhitt, as mentioned by Mr. Elmsley.

188. We have here an excellent note upon the promiscuous use of the names Ἄργος and Μύκλαι for the same city. Something similar occurs in the Latin poets, who confound the neighbouring towns of Pharsalia and Philippi. (See Heyne on the first Georg. 489.) And in the Evangelists Matthew and Luke, who identify the Gergesenes and Gadarenes.

198. Εἰ γὰρ τὸδ' ἴσται, καὶ λόγους κρίνουσι σοῖς.—κραίνουσι. Barnes. κραινοῦσι. P. E.

201. ἡ γὰρ αἰσχύνη πάρος Τοῦ ζῆς.—αἰσχύνη in bonam partem accipi potest, pro *dederis vitandi studio*. P. E. We are surprised that none of the commentators should have quoted Juvenal's *animam præferre pudori*.

204. 5. λίαν γ' ἱπαινῶν—ἄγαν γ' αἰνούμενος. Mr. Elmsley with justice rejects γ' in both verses. The last syllables of ἄγαν and λίαν are long. Menander fr. 228. Τὰ λίαν ἀγαθὰ δυσκολαίνουσιν πέναι. Read, Ἀγαθὰ τὰ λίαν, as in another fragment preserved by the Scholiast on Plato p. 14. Ἀγαθὰ τὰ λίαν ἀγαθὰ. The intrusive particle γὰρ is to be exiled from v. 668. of the Rhesus, τοὺς ἄγαν γ' ἱβήματους.

224. Σοὶ γὰρ τὸδ' αἰσχροὺν χωρὶς, ἢ τε πόλει κακόν. — ἢ τε τῇ πόλει Erfurdt. Σοὶ γὰρ τὸδ' αἰσχροὺν, ἢ τε σῇ πόλει κακόν P. E. We think the following conjecture is a nearer approximation to the genuine reading, Σοὶ γὰρ τὸδ' αἰσχροὺν, καὶ πρὸς, ἢ πόλει κακόν. Helen. 962. Ἀπὸδὸς τι, καὶ πρὸς, σῶτος, or perhaps χάμα, τῇ πόλει κακόν. Plato Crit. 5. p. 75. ἄρα, μὴ ἄρα τῇ κακῇ καὶ αἰσχροῦ ἢ σοὶ τι καὶ ἡμῖν.

228. Μηδμῶς ἀτιμάσῃς τοὺς Ἡρακλείους παῖδας εἰς χίρας λαβών. — λαβὼν P. E. A similar error infects the Supplikes of Aeschylus v. 58. οἴκτος οἰκτρὸν αἶων Δοξάσει τις ἀκού=ει ὅπα τῆς Τηρέας Μήτιδος οἰκτρῶς ἀλόχου. Read, οἴτος οἰκτρὸν αἶων Δοξάσει τις ἀκού=ει ὅπα τῆς Τηρείδος.

233. Οἷκτιρ' ἀκούσας τάσδε συμφοράς. — τῶνδε P. E. Aesch. Suppl. 654. Μήποτε λοιμὸς ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε πόλιν κινῶσαι. Read Τάσδε.

238. Τοὺς σοὺς μὴ παρώσπασθαι ξίνοις. — τοῦσδε μὴ π. ξ. P. E. v. 252, however, is not exactly in point, as Demophon is there addressing Coepreus.

259. τοῦ θεοῦ πλείον φρονῶν. — πλείω P. E. with two MSS. Soph. Ant. 768. Δράτν' φρονίτῳ μίζον ἢ κατ' ἀνδρ' ἰών. Read μίζον, as in v. 933 of this play, μίζω τῇ τύχῃ φρονῶν πάλυ. It may not be amiss to observe, that πλείον φρονῶν means to be, or to think one's self more wise, in which sense also μάλλον and ἄμεινον φρονῶν are used; but μίζον φρονῶν is, to have higher notions of one's self.

323. Τῷ πλὸν αἰρῶ — αἰρῶ Porson. αἰρῶ P. E. for αἰρῶ, the future of αἰρῶν.

372. This Epode we would arrange as follows, adopting Mr. Elmsley's excellent emendation of εὐ χαρίτων ἔχουσαι in v. 380, for εὐχαρίστων ἔχουσαι.

ἰδέσθαι μὲν ἔμοιγ' ἀρί-
στοι, σὺ δ', ὃ κακὸφρων ἀταξ,
λίξω, εἰ πόλιν ἤξει,
εὐχ' οὕτως ἂ δούκεις κυρή-
σεις· οὐ σοὶ μόνῃ ἔγχεος. οὐδ'

ἰδέσθαι κατὰ χαλκός.
ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ πολέμῳ ἱε-
στάς μὲ μοι δορὶ συνταξά-
ξῃς τὰν εὐ χαρίτων ἔχου-
σαι πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀνάσχειν.

In v. 377, we have omitted ἴστιν after κατὰ χαλκός, inserting τῶν in the following verse. The system is thus reduced to regular choriambics.

385. Οὐ γὰρ τι μὴ ψεύσῃ γε κέρκεος λόγος. ψεύσῃ γ' ὃ κ. λ. Heath. — ψεύσῃ σι P. E. We would combine both emendations, and read ψεύσῃ σ' ὃ κέρκεος λόγος.

386. Ὅ γὰρ στρατηγὸς εὐτυχὲς τὰ πρὸς θιῶν, ἔστιν, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ μάλα οὐ σμικρὸν φρονῶν, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

'Vitiosum esse ἴστιν ex eo apparet, quod rarissime ἴστιν in initio verus legitur, nisi initio sententiæ, vel saltem post aliquam pausam sive distinctionem. Dedi igitur ἴστιν, remiet, quod miror Musgravo in mentem non venisse.' P. E.

387. Καὶ μάλα οὐ σμικρὸν φρονῶν. 'In his verbis nonnihil haereo.' P. E. Read καὶ μάλα σμικρὸν φρονῶν. Aesch. Pers. 325. Καίται θανάτῳ διπλοῦς, οὐ μάλα εὐτυχής. Ibid. 387. Καὶ νῦν ἰππῆι, καὶ μάλα Ἕλληνας στρατὸς Κερ-
φαῖον ἐκπλοῦν οὐδ' αὖ καθίστατο. Suppl. 466. Ἀτρεῖς ἄβυσσοι πύλας, οὐ
μάλα εὐταροί. 922. Κλαίεις ἄν, εἰ ψεύσσαις, οὐ μάλα εἰς μακράν.

430. Εἰς

430. Εἰς χεῖρα γ᾽ ἐνέψας. Valckenaer reads 'ὧς χεῖρα, which we approve. The common phrase εἰς χεῖρας ἵσαι τοῖς, which Mr. Elmsley adduces, is surely quite inapplicable to the verse before us.

443. Ὡς δυστάλαινα τοῦ μακροῦ βίου σῖθι. Mr. Elmsley compares Hec. 661. Med. 1028. We add Helen. 1038. Ὡς τάλαινα ἰγὺ κακῶν. El. 1143. Οἱ μοι, τάλαινα τῆς ἡμῶς πάλαι τροφῆς. Read, Οἱ ἰγὺ τάλαινα. Aesch. Pers. 495. Οἱ ἰγὺ τάλαινα ξυμφορᾶς κακῆς, φίλοι. 517. Οἱ ἰγὺ τάλαινα διασπαραγμῶν στρατοῦ. A similar construction occurs Hec. 215. 449. Or. 219. 829. 1027. Iph. T. 1490. Helen. 1243. Aesch. Theb. 921. See Porson on v. 384. of the *Phoenissae*.

467. Τί γὰρ γέροντος ἀδελῶς Εὐρυσθεὶς πλῖον Θανάττος; The Latin version is *Quid enim Eurystheo plus accederet, te homine aene mortuo?* It should be, *Quid enim Eurystheo proderit.* Helen. 329. Περὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐρῶς εἰδέναι, τί σοι πλῖον Ἀπυρμῆν γίνοιτ' ἂν; Theocr. Ep. VI. 1. Ἄ δὲλαί τε Θέρεσι, τί τὸ πλῖον, εἰ καταταξίης Δάκρυσι διγλήσιους ὅπας ὀδυρμῶν; Leonidas *Analect.* l. p. 234. Φεύξομαι, ἔρως, ὑπὸ γὰρ σὶ, τί δὲ πλῖον;

481. Ἀλλ', ἰμὶ γὰρ — Mr. Elmsley properly omits the comma before ἰμὶ. To his instances of ἀλλὰ γὰρ, besides the seven which we have enumerated at v. 119. may be added the following; *Phoen.* 1775. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί ταῦτα θρηῶ καὶ μάταιν ὀδύρομαι; Helen. 1401. Ἀλλ' ἐκπερὶ γὰρ θυμάτων ὁ τοῖς ἱμῶν Γάμους ἱτοίμους ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων δοκῶν. *Herod.* VI. 124. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἱπιμυφόμενοι. *Xenoph. Anab.* III. ii. 32. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαινὶ ἤδη ὤρεα. *Lex. Sangerm. MS. ap. Ruhnken. ad Homer. H. Cer.* p. 36. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ἀπὲρ τοῦ δι. Εὐσελὶς Βάνταις — ἀναρίστουτος ἂν, Κεύδην βιβρυκῶς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ στίφασιν ἔχων.

499. Ἐν τῇδε κινύχμισθα σὺθῆσαι λόγῳ. Mr. Elmsley conjectures *αὐχρόμισθα. are we hindered?*

505. Κίνδυνοι ἡμῶν οὐκ αἰεῖσθαι. Mr. Elmsley gives οὐκ αἰεῖσθαι, and illustrates the phrase, κίνδυνοι αἰεῖσθαι, with his usual learning and accuracy. Of v. 937. of the *Supplices* of Æschylus, Mr. Elmsley says, 'neque αἰεῖσθαι cum Aldo, neque αἰεῖσθαι cum Robortello, sed αἰεῖσθαι legendum videtur.' We remember to have seen this correction proposed about three years ago, in the pages of a contemporary Journal, as Mr. Porson's. The verse in question should be read thus: Ἔσται τὰδ' ἡδὲ πόλιμος αἰεῖ σοι ἴος. Pelasgus orders the herald to take himself off; to which he answers Ἔσται τὰδ'. *I will.* So in Homer when Scamander says, Ἀλλ' αἶγι δὴ καὶ ἴασσι, Achilles replies, Ἔσται ταῦτα, Σκάμανδρι διοτρεφίς. See Porson on v. 1033. of the *Iph.* in *Aul.*

544. ἰδικώτερος. — ἰδικώτερος P. E. who observes that comparative adverbs most commonly end in ON, superlative in A. He reads κατὰξια for κατὰξιος in *Soph. Oed. C.* 911. V. 69 of the Helen should, we think, be read thus, Πλουτὶ γὰρ οἶκος ἀξί', ὡς προσικιάσαι. *Vulg.* ἄξιος προσικιάσαι. In v. 290. of the same play, ἀναδρὸς πολὺα παρβινύεται, the commentators have not perceived that πολὺα is used adverbially. *Soph. El.* 962. Ἀλκίτρα γηράσκουσαι, ἀνυμνῶμαι τε.

554. ἀλλ' ὑπερφέρει Τόλμη τε τόλμας καὶ λόγῳ χρηστῷ λόγον. 'An legendum, ἀλλ' ὑπερφέρει Τόλμης τε τόλμας καὶ λόγου χρηστοῦ λόγος? Aesch. *Prom.* 921. Ὅς δὲ κεραυνὸς κρείσσει· εὐρέσει φλόγα. Βροντῆς δ' ὑπερβάλλοντα καρτερόν κτυπεῖ. P. E. If we mistake not, ὑπερβάλλει always governs an accusative

accusative case, as in Orest. 437. 1660. Aesch. Ag. 308. In v. 1321 of the Ion, for θριγκυῶ τοῦδ' ὑπερβάλλω ποδῖ, should unquestionably be read, for more reasons than one, θριγκοῦς τοῦσδ'. Secondly, ὑπερβάλλω, without a case, signifies, *to be pre-eminent*, as in Arist. Plut. 109. Ἀτίχως ὑπερβάλλουσι τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ. With a case, it signifies, *to pass over*, as in the instances above specified; or *to exceed*, as in Xenoph. Hier. IV. 8. τὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἱκανά, πολλὰ ἴσσι; but the genitive case is subjoined only to the middle voice; see Dawes M. C. p. 248. Herodot. I. 124. VI. 9. VII. 165. IX. 71. We therefore correct the verses of Aeschylus thus, Ὃς δὲ κεραιῶν κρίσσει ἐγείσει φλόγα, Βροταί θ' ὑπερβάλλοντα καρτερῶν κτυπεῖν, *excelling the thunderbolts*.

573. Χάρι, προσίπουσ' ὕστατοι πρόσφθιγμά μοι. — πρόσφθιγμα δὲ P. E. We suspect that Euripides wrote ὕστατοις προσφθίγμασι. Unless we are deceived by Beck's admirable Index (to which we beg leave to express our obligations) πρόσφθιγμα is not elsewhere used by Euripides in the singular number. In v. 777. of the Troades Mr. Burges has restored πρόσπνιγμα.

593. Εἴη γι μίντοι μηδὶν. — So 637. Ἦαν γι μίντοι χάρις σοι φέρει μίγα. γι μίντοι is to be read for γι μὲν δὲ in Soph. Electr. 1243. Aesch. Suppl. 240. 272.

597. Ἄλλ' ὃ μίντοις ἐκρίπουσ' ἐνφυχίας — ἐνφυχία Scaliger, which Mr. Elmsley confirms from Alc. 645. Suppl. 841. We add Aesch. Pers. 184. Κἄλλοι τι τῶν νῦν ἐκκριπτοῖσιν πάλω. But in v. 442. of the same play, the accusative is used, Ψυχὴν τ' αἶστοι κινύμεναι ἐκκριπτοῖς.

612. παρὰ δ' ἄλλοι ἄλλα Μοῖρα δίκαι. To the parallel instances, which Mr. Elmsley cites, may be added Solon. Eleg. V. 75. Ἀτὴ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναφαίνεται, ἢ, ἐπείτα Ζεὺς Πάμφη τισομένη, ἄλλοι κ' ἄλλος ἔχει. XIII. 4. Χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοι ἄλλος ἔχει. Read, ἄλλοι κ' ἄλλος ἔχει.

618. Ἄλλα σὺ μὴ προσπνέων τὰ θεῶν ὕπερ. — προσπνέων τὰ θεῶν φέρι. P. E.

634. Φροτίς τις ἥδ' οἰκίος, ἣ ξυνοχόμεν. — ξυνοχόμεν. P. E.

639. Ὑλλου πιστός. The reader should be referred to Ruhnken's illustration of the word πιστός in his notes on Timæus, p. 212.

644. In his note on this line, Mr. Elmsley notices a mistake of Ambrose Philips, who, in the Ode of Sappho to Venus, translates the words αἴψα δ' ἐξέικοτο, *The birds dismiss, (while you remain,) Bore back their empty car again*; which interpretation, although completely opposite to the real meaning of the words, was suggested by Mlle. Le Fèvre, and commended by Addison as a pretty conceit. The same mistake had been made by M. Longuepierre, or, in classical Latin, Longopetraeus, who translates thus, *Vous étiez descendue à peine, et promptement Ils réprirent la route*.

646. Τί χρῆμα' ἐντὶς πάν τὸδ' ἐπλήσθη στίγος; 'Nota interrogationis vel post τί χρῆμα, vel in fine versus collocari posse monet Reiskius, qui citat Cycl. 99. Τί χρῆμα; Βρομίου πόλιν ἰσχυρὰν εἰσβαλεῖν.' P. E. The exact state of the case is this; τί χρῆμα; with the mark of interrogation immediately following, signifies, *what is the matter? how now?* Hippol. 919. Ἔα, τί χρῆμα; σὴν δάμαρδ' ὄρω, πάτερ, Νεκρὸν. Suppl. 103. Ἔα, τί χρῆμα; καινὰς εἰσβολὰς ὄρω λόγων. Aesch. Prom. 298. Ἔα, τί χρῆμα; καὶ σὺ δὲ πόνοι μὲν ἦναι ἰσότης; Theocr. XXI. 25. Μὴ λαβόμεν; τί;

τὸ χρεῖμα; The same sense is to be given to τί χρεῖς; v. 96. of this play, and Aesch. Ag. 85. Τί χρεῖς; τί τίς; But τί χρεῖμα, when used as in the verse before us, according to its present punctuation, is for διὰ τί χρεῖμα, as in v. 633. Τί χρεῖμα κίσσαι, καὶ καταφθῆς ὅμῳ ἔχεις; 709. Τί χρεῖμα μέλλεις, τῇ φρενὶ οὐκ ἴδον ἄν, Λίπειν μ' ἔρημον ξὺν τέκνοισι τοῖς ἰμοῖς;

657. Σὶ, πρὶσθε τοῦ τοῦδ' ὅπως βλαῖς πύλας. i. e. Σὶ καλῶν. Some editions have Σὺ. Mr. Elmsley confirms the old reading from Helen. 553. Soph. Ant. 441. Σὶ δὲ, σὶ τὴν νύσους εἰς πίδα κέρα, Φῆς, ἢ καταρῆναι μὴ διδρακίνας τόδε; where we would read Σὶ τοι, σὶ τὴν ν. Oed. C. 1578. Σὶ τοι καλέσω, τὸν αἰὲν αὐτὸν. Aj. 1228. Σὶ τοι, τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτικῆς, λέγω. El. 1445. Σὶ τοι, σὶ κρίνω, καὶ σὶ, τὴν ἐν τῷ πάρος Χρῶν θρασύναι. Eurip. Ion. 219. Σὶ τοι, τὸν παρὰ τοῦ, αὐδῶ.

961. Ἄταρ τί, χώρα τῇδε προσβαλὼν πόδα, Ποῦ νῦν ἄπιστοι; τίς τις εἰργασμένη εἶναι σοι φανίτα διὲρ ἱμῶν τίςφαι φρίνα; Mr. Elmsley conjectures, Παῖς νῦν ἄπιστοι. We think the true reading to be Σοῦ νῦν ἄπιστοι.

688. Ἄλλ' οὐτ' μαχοῦμαι ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἰλάσσοι. — μαχοῦμαι γ' ἀριθμὸν P. E.

693. Ὡς μὴ μεινύοντα, τὰλλά σοι λέγῃς πάρα. Mr. Elmsley illustrates the construction ὡς μὴ μεινύοντα, and observes in the Addenda, that the tragedians never cut off 1 in the dative singular. One instance he has overlooked, viz. Aesch. Pers. 852. Ὑπαντιάζῃν παῖδ' ἱμῶν πυράσσομαι, where παῖδ' is for παιδί. v. 836. Ὑπαντιάζε παιδί.

706. Χρὲ γνωσιμαχείῃ σὺν ἑλικίῃν. — Χρῆν P. E. We prefer the present tense.

742. ξύμμαχος γίνω μοι. Τοιοῦτος, εἷος ἂν τροπῇ Εὐρύσθιους Θέϊας. Mr. Elmsley explains the concluding words to mean, ὥςτ' ἱμὶ τροπῇ Εὐρύσθιους Θέϊας. We think that the true reading is Θέϊας. For assuredly τοιοῦτος and εἷος must refer to the same object, as in that memorable declaration of Socrates, ὡς ἰγὺ οὐ μόνον νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰὲν τοιοῦτος, εἷος τῶν ἱμῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλω κείσθω, ἢ τῷ λόγῳ. ὃς ἂν μοι λογιζομένη βέλτιστος φαίνεται. Herod. 1. 71. Ὡ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' αἰδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζεται, οὐ σκενῆρας μὴ ἀναξυρίδας — φορέουσιν. Cf. Suppl. 746. Cresphont. ap. Stob. p. 381.

752. Ἰαχίσσῃ. — 'Dixi ad Soph. Oed. T. 1222. secundam in ἰαχῇ et ἰαχῷ communem esse, neque quidquam causæ esse cur scriberetur ἰαχῇ et ἰαχῷ. Postea vero suspicio mihi oborta est, ἰαχῇ et ἰαχῷ media correpta e Doricis ἀχῇ et ἀχῷ, interdum etiam ex Atticis ἡχῇ et ἡχῷ, librariorum errore nata.' P. E. Mr. Elmsley proceeds to correct those passages which seem to oppose his observation, in a very probable manner. For our parts, we still think that the verb should be written ἰαχῷ, where the second syllable is long. From ἰαχῇ or ἰαχῇ a religious exclamation, are formed ἰαχῷ and ἰαχῷ, the latter of which verbs is used by Herodotus in the sense of *exclaiming*, and its compound ἰαχῷ by Aeschylus. We consider therefore ἰαχῷ to be quite distinct from ἰαχῇ, the second syllable of which is always short in Homer. In Aristoph. Ran. 215. for Διόνυσον ἐν Διόνυσῳ ἰαχῷ, read Διόνυσον ἐν Διόνυσῳ ἰαχῷ. In Iph. A. 1039. ἰαχῇ, a sacred song, seems better than ἰαχῇ, and in Herc. F. 349. ἰαχῷ rather than ἰαχῇ. In v. 1502. of the Helen, for ἰαχῷ, should probably be written ἰαχῷ. and in Troad. 615. εἰς Τροίαν ἀχῷ. Musgrave quotes a fragment of the Palamedes,

Palamedes, *τυμπάνῳ ἰαχχοῖς*. Aesch. Pers. 940. Πίψω πολέδαυρα ἰαχάν. Read ἰαχχοῖς. In v. 1150. of the *Electra* ἰαχχοῖς is a *ditrochaeus*, the *iota* being made long by the argument, as in *Troad*. 328. Heracl. 844. Helen. 805. 1924.

753. Καὶ παρὰ θρόνον ἀρχέται. This rare word ἀρχέτης, which occurs also in *Electr.* 1149. is to be restored to Aeschylus Pers. 1003. Βιβῶσι γὰρ ἀρχέται σφραγῶς, which we conceive to be far better than ἀγρόται, the common reading, ἀκρόται that of Robortellus, or ἀγρίται, the conjecture of Toup.

779. Φθινὰς ἡμέρα. By these words Brodaeus understands the last day of the month, Musgrave the first; to whose opinion Mr. Elmsley accedes: 'Nullus enim dies majori jure φθινὰς ἡμέρα appellari potest, quam is, in quo sit solis et lunæ coitus (conjunctio).' This reason is not quite correct: for supposing the first day of the month to be really what its name imports, *νομήσια*, since the time of a synodic revolution of the moon is only 29d. 12h. 44'. 2", it is evident that the conjunction of the two luminaries would take place on the 30th day, or ἔτη καὶ μία, which name, as Plutarch tells us, was given it by Solon on this very account, because during part of that day the moon was old, and for the remaining part new. On no account therefore can φθινὰς ἡμέρα be referred to the first day of the month. It signifies, probably, either the last, or the 21st, on which day they began to reckon the days *μυρὸς φθινόκτος*.

778. 'Κεύθεται non est Graecum. Hujus enim vocis sola activa forma usurpatur.' P. E. i. e. *apud Atticos*. *Iliad* v. 244. Θείομεν εἰς ὃ καὶ αὐτὰς ἰγὼν αἰδῶ κεύθουμαι. Apollon. Rhod. IV. 535. Τούνηκεν εἰσέβη τῶν κεύθου ὕδα κεύθεται αἶψα.

782. Ὀλολύγματα πανυχίῳ ὑπὸ παρθένῳ ἰαχῇ ποδῶν κρέτοισι. 'Ordo est, Ὀλολύγματα ἰαχῇ ὑπὸ πανυχίῳ κρέτοισι παρθένῳ ποδῶν. Resonant ululatus ad nocturnos plausus virgineorum pedum.' P. E. The order is rather, Ὀλολύγματα ὑπὸ ἰαχῇ πανυ. κ. π. π. or Ὀλολύγματα ἰαχῇ ὑπὸ παρθένῳ ποδῶν πανυχίῳ κρέτοισι. — for ὑπὸ, in the sense of *ad*, requires a genitive case; Bacch. 155. Μίλπητε τὸν Διόινυτον βαρυβρόμον ὑπὸ τυμπάνῳ. Soph. El. 710. Χαλκῆς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ἦσαν. (Cf. v. 630.) Homer. Il. Σ. 492. Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμῳ δαίδων ὑπο λαμπόμενάων Ἥγινον ἀνα ἄστν. Hesiod Scut. 280. Αἱ δ' ὑπὸ φορμύγγῳ ἀναγον χέρον ἱμερόντα. Archilochus *ap. Schol. Aristoph. Ran.* 1426. ὑπ' αὐλητῶν ἀείδων. Pindar. Ol. IV. 4. ὑπὸ ποικιλοφόρμυγγος αἰοῦσας. Herodot. I. 17. ἰστροτύτο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγῳ τε καὶ πικτίδῳ. (where see Wesseling.) VII. 21. ἀνυσσιν ὑπὸ μαστίγῳ. *Sub* is used by Horace in the same sense, *Sub cantu querulae despicere tibiae*.

784. Δίσποινα, μύθους σοὶ τε συνομωτάτους Κλέων, ἱμοὶ τι τῷδε καλλίστους φέρω. — τοῖσδε καλλίστους. P. E. i. e. λίγνι.

793. Ὅ μιν γίγναι οὐκ ἔστιν ἰολίως ὅδε; Mr. Elmsley's conjecture, Ὅ μιν γίγναι οὐκ ἔστιν ἰολίως ἔτι; gives better sense. We might read, Ὅ μιν γίγναι οὐκ ἔστιν ἰολίως, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ; Orest. 1074. Σοὶ μιν γὰρ ἔστι πῶλις, ἱμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι δὲ. 1079. κῆδος δὲ τοῦμιν καὶ σὸν οὐκ ἔστι ἔστι δὲ.

801. Ἐπὶ γὰρ ἄλλήλοισιν ὀπλίτην στρατὸν Κατὰ στόμ' ἰκτείνοντες ἀντιτάξονται — ἰκτείνοντας, P. E. The correction of Aesch. Pers. 831. proposed

posed by Mr. Elmsley in the Addenda, has been anticipated by the flower of critics, Mr. Schütz.

802. Ἐξέας—ὠίδα. Mr. Elmsley refers to Mr. Porson's excellent note on the Orestes, v. 1427. to whose instances of βαίω, used transitively, we may add two; Helen. 35. τὰ δ' αὖ Διὸς Βουλεύματ' ἄλλα τοῖσδε συμβαίνει κακοῖς. Pancrates in Athenaeus, XI. p. 478. Α. Αἰτὰρ ὄγῃ σπείσας ἐκ ποδῶν ἀργυρίοι Νίκταρ, ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπῶν οἶμον ἴβαιν ὠίδα.

828. Ὁ δ' αὖ, τέ τ' Ἄργος μὴ καταισχύσῃαι θῆλιν,

Καὶ τὰς Μυήνας, ξυμμάχους ἱλίσσῃτο.—

θῆλιν is an indubitable correction adopted by Mr. Elmsley, who justly observes, that the word ἱλίσσῃτο supplicabat is purposely used, to express the timidity of Eurystheus. It reminds us forcibly of the illustrious Transatlantic General Hopkins, who, when his army (which breathed nothing but vengeance against the Kickapoos) was disordered by a gust of wind, requested that he might be allowed to dictate the course to be pursued for one day: εἴτα, τοιοῦτος γηγῶς, τοὺς Ἡρακλείους ἔλθι δουλώσω γόνους.

830. Ὅρθιον. *Magno sonitu*. P. E. The correct English is, *a rousing strain*. Homer Iliad. A. 11. Ἔνθα στᾶσ' ἦνσι θιά μάγα τι δινεῖν τι, Ὅρθι Ἀχαιοῖσιν. The ὀρθιος νόμος of the musicians was an inspiring strain, with which Timotheus * roused Alexander. See the notes on Proclus p. 436. ed. Gaisford. *Sopater Stobæi* XLIV. p. 311. τὸν ὀρθιον τῆς ἀρετῆς εἶδιν νόμον. Cf. Harpocrat. v. Ἀνωρθίαζον.

836. ποδὲς ἱκαλλαχθῆς ποδὶ. The following words of Tyrtæus are more in point than the passages adduced by Brodaeus. Καὶ πίδα παρ ποδὶ θιῆς, καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἱρίσας. (*ap. Stob. I. p. 189.*) And the following passage of Thucydides is more fully illustrative of the phrase ἱκατέρη μάχη, Mr. Elmsley's correction, than those in the note, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον κατέρη μάχη καὶ ὁλισμῷ ἀσπίδων συνιστήναι. IV. 96.

840. To Mr. Elmsley's instance of ἀρέγων in the sense of repelling, add Aesch. Theb. 121. ἀρεξὶν δαῖων ἄλωσιν.

845. ἴππιον δίφρον. 'Nostro loco non refragabor quo minus ἴππιον δίφρον legatur. Quamquam multo libentius retinerem ἴππιον δίφρον quam ἴππιον θιν, ἴππιον Ἄργος, ἴππιον Ποσειδῶ, et similia.' P. E. Mr. Elmsley seems tacitly to allude to an opinion which we threw out in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 225. that the form ἴππιος is never used by the Tragedians, there being only one passage where the metre requires it, viz. Hippol. 1352. of which we proposed a simple correction. In the verse before us we conceive the true reading to be ἴππικόν δίφρον. v. 854. Δίσσω γὰρ ἄσπερ ἴππικοῖς ὑπὸ ζυγοῖς. Beck's Index will furnish six other instances in which ἴππικόν is coupled with ἄρμα or similar words, and only one where ἴππιον is similarly circumstanced, viz. Helen. 1511. where, no doubt, should be read ἴππικόν ἄρμα. In the same way we find σπυλικῶν ζυγῶν, σπυλικούς ὄχλους, &c. βοικὰ ζεύγη, Pollux, X. 53. ζεύγη οἰκᾶ, καὶ ζεύγη ἡμισοικᾶ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰσσοικᾶ. It appears to us that ἰσσοικὸς means

* It is worth while to compare the description given by Dryden of the effects wrought by the music of Timotheus, with that of Himerius the Sophist in the Bibliotheca of Photius, p. 2028.

equinus, and ἵππιος *ab equo dictus*, as ἵππιος Κέωνος, ἵππιος Πισιδῶν, and the like.

847. τὰνδ' τοῦδ' ἤδη κλέων Δίγροι μὲν ἄλλος. Δίγροιμ' αἶν ἄλλων, Valckenæer. as it is quoted by Mr. Porson. ad. *Orest.* 1679. Δίγροιμ' αἶν ἄλλων P. E. which we prefer. To Mr. Elmsley's instances add *Med.* 652. Εἰδμεν' οὐκ ἐξ ἱτέρων Μίδων ἔχομεν φράσασθαι.

849. Παλλήνιδος. 'Quæ in vico Atticæ colitur, cui Pallene nomen.' Musgr. 'Nomen non Παλλήνη, sed Πάλληνην fuisse suspicor, ex adverbio Παλλήναδι, cujus loco Βαλλήναδι per jocum dixit Aristoph. *Ach.* 234.' P. E.

893. εἰ λίγηνα λώτου χάρις ἐν δαυτί. We approve of Mr. Elmsley's conjecture, ἐν δαυτί. *Med.* 195. Οἷτινις ὕμνους ἐν δαυτί μὲν βαλκίαις, 'Ἐπὶ δ' ἐπὶ λαπίαις καὶ παρὰ δάκρυις Εὐροτο. *Helen.* 175. ἐν δαυτί, *inter lacrymas*.

899. τιλοισιδότιμα. 'Analogiæ repugnare videtur hæc vox per Ω scripta. ἰλβιδότιμα legitur in *Bacch.* 419. ἰπιδότιμα in *Or.* 175.' P. E. Add βαρυδότημα, *Aesch. Theb.* 977.

900. Αἶν τε Κρόνου παῖς. We do not remember to have met with this *Aeon* in any of the more ancient poets, and we cannot help suspecting that he was inserted here by some copyist versed in the writings of Proclus and the Platonists. The line of Pseudo-Orpheus, quoted by Musgrave, we conceive to be the offspring of some Gnostic Christian. We would write the concluding verses of the strophe and antistrophe as follows,

Σ.

πολλὰ γὰρ τίκεται
Μοῖρα τελοισιδότιμα,
αἶν τε Κρόνου παῖς.

Α.

θιὸς παραγγέλλει,
τῶν ἀδίκων γι παρὰ
ἐν φροήματος αἶν.

Iliad. A. 209. θεοὶ αἶν ἰόντες. *Callim. Jov.* 9. σὺ δ' οὐ θάνης, ἴσσι γὰρ αἰεῖ.

926. ὃ θυμὸς ἐν πρὸ δικας βίαιος. 'Hanc locutionem non alibi reperi. Passim occurrit πέρα δικῆς.' P. E. We understand the words to mean. 'to whom the gratification of his anger was of more account than justice.' *Plato Crit.* 16. μήτε παῖδας περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦ, μήτε τὸ ζῆν, μήτε ἄλλο μὴδὲν πρὸ τοῦ δικαίου.

961. Οὐκ ἴστ' ἀνιστὰν τοῖσι σοι κατακτανῶ. Οὐκ ἴστιν ἰσὶν is the excellent correction of Mr. Elmsley, who quotes *Iph. T.* 1044. It is strongly confirmed by v. 1011. οὐχ ἄγνός ἐμὲ τῷ κτανόντι κατακτανῶ.

968. 'Eo sensu quo nostro loco legitur ἀπιστοῦσαι, utrumque ἀπισθῆσαι et ἀπισθῆσαι usurpant tragici. *Soph. Phil.* 1447. Οὐκ ἀπισθῆσαι τοῖς σοῖς μύθοις. *Eurip. Or.* 31. Ὅμως δ' ἀπίκεται, οὐκ ἀπισθῆσαις θεῶν.' P. E. We have little doubt but that in the second of these instances should be read ἀπιστήσας. *Ion.* 557. Τῷ θεῷ γὰρ (not γοῦν) οὐκ ἀπισταῖν εἰκός. *Aesch. Agam.* 1059. Πάθοι' ἄν, εἰ παῖδοι, ἀπισθοῖς δ' ἴσως, which verse, as it stands, is bad Greek, and of which we are unable to propose a plausible correction. We are of opinion that the Attic poets never used the word ἀπισθῆναι, because, if we mistake not, they had no such adjective as ἀπισθῆς, but formed compounds of this sort from the aorist ἴπισθον. The metre requires ἐπισθῆς, with the penultima short, in *Aesch. Prometh.* 333. *Agam.* 984. In *Eurip. Androm.* 819. for ἐπισθῆστοις at the end of a senarius, nobody will hesitate to replace ἐπισθῆστοις. *Hesych.* Ἀπισθῆς, ἀπιστότακτος.

ἀνυπότακτος Σοφοκλῆς Αἰχμαλωτίσιν. We do not consider this authority of any weight. Homer always uses ἀντιβῆν with the second syllable short.

969. Χρὴν τάδε μὴ ζῆν, μὴδ' ὄραν φάος τόδε. 'Φάος τόδε senarium claudunt in Hippol. 907. 993. Alc. 1142.' P. E. Alc. 80. 'Ὅστις ἀντίβησι πότεροι φθιμένοι Τῶν βασιλείων χρὴ συνθεῖν, ἢ Ζῶσ' ἔτι λίσσεται φῶς Παλίου παῖς. We read, πότεροι φθιμένοι Χρὴ βασιλείων συνθεῖν, ἢ Ζῶσ' ἔτι παῖς Παλίου λίσσεται τόδε φῶς. Helen. 60. 'Ἐως μὲν οὖν φῶς ἄλιον τόδ' ἔβλαπται Πρωτίης. 845. θαίνοντος σοῦ, τόδ' ἐκλείψεται φάος.

978. πρὸς ταῦτα, τῶν θρασύων, ὅστις ἂν θίλοι, — Αἰξίμ. ὅστις ἂν θίλῃ P. E. Where ὅστις has the force of *whosoever may*, it requires a subjunctive, as here and in Helen. 154. Κτείνει γὰρ Ἕλλησι, ὅστις ἂν λάβῃ, ξίον. Where it is used for the relative ὅς, it requires either an indicative, as in Helen. 9. Θεοκλύμειον ἄρσιν', ὅστις εἰς θιοῦς σίβην Βίος δῆνηγ', or an optative with ἄν, as Alc. 80. 'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ φίλων τις πύλας εὐδαίς, ὅστις ἂν εἰσέωσι. Helen. 442. τίς ἂν ἀνταρὸς ἐκ δόμων μόλοι, ὅστις διαγγεῖλαι τὰμ' εἶσω κακά. Read Ὅς ἂν διαγγεῖλαι. We are not satisfied with the future tense Αἰξίμ after πρὸς ταῦτα, which words, when used as in this passage, are commonly followed by an imperative mood. Med. 1355. Πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ λίσσεται, εἰ βούλει, κάλει, Καὶ Σκύλλαν.

985. διλίαν ὄφλειν τινα.—ὄφλειν τινα is given by Mr. Elmsley, who observed in his valuable edition of the Acharneans of Aristophanes that ὄφλον is an aorist.

986. Ἐγὼ δὲ νῆκος οὐχ ἔκων τόδ' ἡράμην
ἥδη γι σοι μὲν αὐτανόφιος γηγῶς.

Οὐ δῶτα' σοὶ μὲν ἄ. γ. P. E. which is no doubt the genuine reading.

1002. Πάρα κινήσαι πύτρων. Diogenian. VII. 42. πάντα κινήσω πύτρων. Two accounts of the origin of this proverbial expression, *to leave not a stone unturned*, are given by Photius, of which Mr. Elmsley prefers the second, which says that it took its rise from those who hunted for crabs. We think it more likely to have been originally said of those, who carefully turned up the loose stones in the pavement of their houses, to see if any scorpions were concealed under them. A drinking song in Athenæus XV. p. 695. D. runs thus, Ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθῳ σκόρπιος, ὃ τῶν, ἐποδύεται. Φεράζον μὴ σε βάλλῃ, (vulg. ὃ ταις) which is clearly addressed to some person employed in turning up the stones to search for scorpions. Sophocles Αἰχμαλωτίσιν. — 'Ἐν παντὶ γὰρ τοι σκόρπιος φρουρεῖ λίθῳ.

1014. Πρὸς ἄγ' εἴπας, ἀντήκουσας — Προσιῖπας, ἀντήκουσας. P. E. We prefer Mr. Elmsley's second conjecture, Ἀγ' εἴπας ἀντήκουσας. Alc. 701. εἰ δ' ἡμᾶς κακῶς Ἐρεῖς, ἀκούσιν πολλὰ καὶ ψυδὴ κακά. Homer II. γ. 250. Ὅσποιοι ἐπῆσθα ἔπος, τοῖον κ' ἐπακούσαιο. Hesiod. Op. Di. 719. Εἰ δὲ κακὸν εἴπωσι, τάχα κ' αὐτὸς μῖζον ἀκούσαιο. Alcaeus (ap. Procl. in Hesiod. p. 153.) Εἰκ' εἴπωσι τὰ θίλοις, ἀκούσαιο τὰ κ' οὐ θίλοις. Read, Αἰκ' εἴπῃς τὰ θίλοις, ἀκούσαιο τὰ κ' οὐ θίλοις. Terent. Andr. V. iv. 17. Si mi pergit quae vult dicere, ea quae non vult audiet.

1026. Κτεῖν', οὐ παραιτούμαι σοι τήδε δὲ πύλῳ — Χρησμῷ παλαιῷ Δοξίῳ Ἀρήσομαι — τήδε δὲ πτόλῳ. P. E. We apprehend that the true reading is, τὴν δὲ δὴ πύλῳ. Orest. 52. 'Ἦναι γὰρ εἰς γῆν Μυῖαναι Τροίας ἀσπῆ, δαλαισι πλάγχθεις τὴν δὲ δὴ πύλῳσιτο Ἑλένη — πρὸς πύλῳ.

1040. ἄλλῳ

1040. ἀλλὰ μὲν μοι χάρις, Μὴ αἶμα' ἰάσῃς εἰς ἱμὶν στάξαι τῶτον. For τῶτον, Mr. Elmsley receives τάραι, the correction of Heath. Not one of the commentators has understood the passage. Eurystheus means to say, 'Do not suffer them (the Heraclidae) to pour out libations (στάξαι χάρις) upon my tomb, nor let them avert the evils I threaten, by performing these offices of friendship to me;' (as Clytemnestra strove to avert the anger of Agamemnon by sending libations to his tomb. Soph. Electr. 446.). This interpretation in some measure explains v. 1050. where Alcmena says, that after his death he may be given to the dogs for any thing she cares. We cannot imagine why Eurystheus should suppose that *blood* would be sprinkled on his tomb. The only libations to the dead mentioned by Greek authors, consisted of wine, milk, honey and water. See Iliad v. 220. Aesch. Pers. 610. Soph. El. 434. 894. Eurip. Or. 114. Iph. T. 633. Alcæus in Brunck's *Analecta* I. p. 490. Antipater *ibid.* II. p. 26. except in the case of magical incantations, as in Heliodorus Aeth. VI. p. 301. ed. 1611. We think therefore that for μὴ αἶμα' ἰάσῃς should be read μὴ ρῆμα' ἰάσῃς. In an Epigram of Hegemon are the words Σπάρτας χίλοι ἄνδρες ἑπισχοι αἶμα τὸ Περσῶν. Mr. Huschke judiciously restores ρῆμα τὸ Περσῶν. Then for ΤΟΠΟΝ we read ΠΟΤΟΝ. Posidippus in Athenæus I. p. 32. B. Διφνῆς, ἄτοπος, ὁ μωρὸς, ὁ τίμιος, read, Διφνῆς, ΑΠΟΤΟΣ. The whole verse we would read thus, Μὴ ρῆμα' ἰάσῃς εἰς ἱμὶν στάξαι ποτόν. Finally we observe, that vv. 1037. 8. 9. and part of 1040. should be included in a parenthesis.

1054. Τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν. 'Sic τὰπὸ σοῦ apud Soph. Oed. C. 1628. P.E. Soph. El. 1464. Καὶ δὲ τελεῖται τὰπ' ἡμοῦ. Eurip. Iph. A. 1214. οὐ δὲ, τὰπ' ἡμοῦ σοφὰ, Δάκρυα παρίξω. Heracl. 23. ἀσθινὴ μὲν τὰπ' ἡμοῦ διδοκότες. In v. 1272. for ἀλλὰ τὰπὸ σοῦ σκέπται should be written ἀλλὰ τὰπὸ σοῦ σκίπτει.

In perusing the present volume we have observed the following typographical errors, besides those which are noticed in the *errata*. V. 782. ὅπο for ὑπὸ. 986. οὐκ ἐκὼν for οὐχ ἐκὼν. p. 56, 1. 'Αθήνησι for 'Αθήνησι. 1. 2. 'Αγόραισι for 'Αγοραίσι. p. 119, 18. Agam. 1468. for 1648.

The number of pages which we have devoted to the consideration of this small volume, will be sufficient to shew the estimation in which we hold Mr. Elmsley's critical labours. In fact we take some shame to ourselves, for not having assigned a portion of our former numbers to an analysis of the editions of the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles and the Acharneans of Aristophanes. The appearance of a third portion of the Greek drama under the same auspices reminded us of our neglect, for which we have now endeavoured to make amends by giving a tolerably accurate account of the alterations which Mr. Elmsley has made in the received text of Euripides. We should, in all likelihood, have made our article more acceptable to our critical readers, had we quoted more of Mr. Elmsley's observations and fewer of our own. But we recommend

them to read his notes entire; and if they fail to derive from them a great deal of information which is both valuable and new, they will either be better scholars or greater dunces than we give them credit for being. An attentive perusal of Mr. Elmsley's publications has convinced us, that he has studied the remains of the Greek theatre with greater accuracy and attention than almost any scholar of his own or former times; and we cannot help expressing a wish, in which every lover of classical literature will join, that he may finish the web which he so ably began on a former occasion, and give to the world a correct and useful edition of the most dignified and polished of the Greek tragedians.

ART. VII. 1. *Des Progrès de la Puissance Russe depuis son Origine jusqu'au Commencement du 19ème Siècle.* Par Mr. L—. Paris, 1812. 8vo. pp. 514.

2. *Seconde Guerre de Pologne, ou Considérations sur la Paix publique du Continent, et sur l'Indépendance Maritime de l'Europe.* Par M. M. de Montgalliard. Paris, 1812. 8vo. pp. 330.

'THE grand object in travelling,' said Dr. Johnson, 'is to see the coasts of the Mediterranean. On those shores were situated the four great empires of the world—the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman: all our religion, almost all our law, almost all our arts, almost all that sets us above savages has come to us from the shores of the Mediterranean.' There are few, we imagine, who have not felt the justice of this observation; and it may perhaps be considered as one of the many disadvantages attendant upon the evil days on which we are fallen, that all access to the most interesting parts of Europe has been for some time denied to our countrymen. But though the grand tour, that indispensable part of the education of the fashionable men of former days, be no longer practicable, a more anxious desire for that species of information, which is alone to be gained by foreign travel, has at no time prevailed than at present; and, as in the commercial world, we find, when one channel of communication is stopped, another is speedily opened, the spirit of inquiry has lately led our countrymen into regions which formerly were but rarely visited. The islands of Greece have been explored in every direction, and no traveller can now return home, with any degree of self-satisfaction, unless he have traversed the Crimea, peeped into the Grand Signior's harem, or selected some favored spot in the Archipelago, as a retreat from the tedium of his native country.

The events too of the last campaign, have rendered Russia more than ever an object of curiosity, and the great part which she has

has to perform in the present momentous struggle, for the freedom of Europe, has imparted new interest to every thing that bears relation to that gigantic power.

In modern France, and indeed throughout the greater part of the continent, the art of war is the only one that appears to flourish; and though we hear much of the ostentatious protection shewn by Buonaparte to men of science, and the encouragement afforded to their works, the productions of the French press too clearly evince that the minds of the writers on political subjects in France are as much enslaved by the jealousy of the tyrant, as their persons are by the code of conscription. The same tone which pervades the bulletins of the *Grand Army*, is discoverable in all their writings on public matters, and no one can doubt that the severe control which Buonaparte has exercised over the press, has been throughout of incalculable advantage to his cause. We require, indeed, no farther proof of the importance which he attaches to this powerful instrument, than the order which was issued by Davoust on regaining possession of Hamburg, by which the inhabitants were required to give up all the publications that had appeared against the French during the short lived freedom of that city.

Impressed as we are with this idea, our readers will believe that we did not enter on the perusal of the works before us with any sanguine expectation of meeting with much valuable or impartial information on the subject of Russia. She has proved herself lately the most formidable opponent that Buonaparte ever had to contend with on the continent; and, excepting in some instances, where she has been led into a mistaken policy by the folly of her rulers, or by the pressure of the times, she has always sided with England in her wars against France. The alliance between the two countries is one which mutual interest will naturally point out, and their relations of amity are not liable to be broken by too close proximity, or by too great an equality in point of naval or military force.

The anonymous publication which we have selected for our purpose, is pronounced by those who are enabled to judge from the appearance of the types, to be the production of the Imperial Press, and we believe that it has undergone the revision which all works are subject to published in a similar manner. The author does not profess to enter very deeply into the history or geography of the Russian empire, but to confine himself to a detail of the progress of its political power from its origin to the commencement of the 19th century, and with this view he appears to have consulted almost every modern work which has been published on the subject of Russia, or in any degree touched upon the politics

politics of the country, from the caustic accounts of Olearius down to the Edinburgh Review and the Travels of Sir T. McGill.

It was not to be expected that a French author, in preparing a compilation of this kind, should not turn with avidity to a work so congenial to his feelings, and so adapted to his purpose, as the first volume of Dr. Clarke's Travels in the North of Europe, and he accordingly has not neglected to quote from it, and to dwell, on every occasion, with peculiar delight, upon the exaggerated statements which it contains.

As we understand that the events of the last campaign in Russia have failed to produce that change in the Doctor's sentiments, which we are inclined to believe they have done in those of many who had been misled by him, we doubt not he will be much flattered by this notice of his book; but we must be allowed to express our regret that it should have furnished such ample materials for the work before us. We must do the French author the justice to state, that he fairly confesses his inability to give entire credit to all the extraordinary facts which Dr. Clarke and other English travellers have related to the disparagement of Russia, and that he seems as much surprized as we ourselves could be, that such exaggerated, and in many instances, unfounded, censures of the characters, manners, and institutions of the Russians should be to be found principally in the writings of a nation connected with them by every tie of interest and friendship. The author thus expresses himself on the subject.

' Nous nous sommes attachés à citer des auteurs dont le caractère, le rang, ou la connaissance qu'ils avaient du pays, rendent le témoignage plus respectable; et s'il en est qui paraissent moins dignes de foi, on sera surpris de les trouver chez une nation dont les Russes devaient attendre le plus de ménagemens: nos lecteurs nous sauront peut-être gré d'être plus modérés envers nos ennemis actuels, que les Anglais ne le sont envers leurs plus intimes alliés.'

Our author informs us in his preface, that when he enters at all into detail on the nature of the country upon which he is writing, or on the manners of the inhabitants, he merely does so with the view of explaining the grand events in the political history of Russia, which have produced that progressive rise in her power and importance which it is his intention to describe. He has, in this respect, followed the example of many others who have written for political purposes, and we look in vain to the compilation before us for any fresh information on several most interesting subjects relative to the internal state of Russia.

As we shall touch upon the chief points which are worth adverting to, in our remarks upon M. Montgalliard, we shall only observe

observe that the anonymous work is interlarded with such reflections as the actual position of Russia would naturally suggest, and with the usual strain of abuse against this country; and we shall confine ourselves to a few remarks chiefly on the errors into which the author has fallen from a want of judgment in the selection of the authorities he has consulted.

He has been led astray, in some instances, by Dr. Clarke, though certainly not in the same degree that many others have been. That gentleman is kind enough to warn us against giving credit to Puffendorf, who observes, (for this is the passage, we presume, to which the Doctor alludes,)—‘*Qu’on se tromperoit beaucoup si, pour connoître les Russes d’aujourd’hui, on s’arrêtoit aux portraits qui ont été faits de cette nation, avant le commencement de ce siècle.*’ We should be disposed to extend this caution to writings of a later period: had the author himself, for instance, attended to it, he might have escaped many inaccuracies. Thus, he estimates the population of the Crimea at nearly one half less than it was previously to the occupation of that peninsula by the Russians. We have always understood, on the contrary, and from authority which we are less inclined to dispute than that of Dr. Clarke, that the Tartars at first did emigrate by thousands, from apprehension of their new masters, but that on finding they were allowed to enjoy their former privileges and possessions, they almost all returned. The general air of comfort visible throughout that part of the Crimea which they inhabit, affords reason to believe that they by no means repent of having done so.

The filthy employment in which Dr. Clarke asserts, that ‘*beautiful princesses of Mosco*’ are occupied, as well as every other Russian, let his rank be what it may, is glanced at by the Frenchman as a proof of the indelicacy of the English taste, presuming somewhat unfairly from the particular to the general, that the Doctor would not have inserted such disgusting details unless agreeable to the bulk of his readers: and he amusingly enough attributes the exaggerations of which he conceives the Doctor is guilty in his accounts of the superstition of the Russian people, to his being a member of the reformed religion.

A long quotation is given by our author descriptive of the eternal flagellation which Dr. Clarke asserts is exercised in Russia, from one quarter of the empire to the other. Even in the time of Paul this was far from being a true statement. That Emperor’s delight was rather to punish by some ridiculous device, than by any severity of discipline. Had cruelty been his characteristic, the Doctor himself might not, perhaps, have escaped a journey to Siberia; but even in this land of liberty we have been called a
‘flogged

'flogged nation,' and we ought not therefore to be surprized that Russia has not escaped a similar imputation.

Tuberville, who was secretary of embassy in the reign of Ivan IV. amused the world by a poetical account of what he had seen in Russia, and our author observes as a *national trait*, that, after abusing the Russians in return for all the kindness he had experienced at their hands, to such a degree as to render him liable to the charge of ingratitude, he declares that he had suppressed much offensive matter from apprehension of endangering our commercial interests in that country. In those days we see that authors were sometimes induced by a sense of propriety to compress their observations, and we wish Dr. Clarke had profited by Tuberville's example.

We cannot give our readers a better specimen of the author's stile, and of his talents for accurate comparisons, than by calling their attention to the following passage, wherein he traces some points of resemblance between this country and Russia.

'Il y a encore entre l'Angleterre et la Russie des points de rapprochement que la disparité si apparente de leur constitution politique et morale ne peut empêcher d'apercevoir. La première tient assujettis sous son sceptre des peuples aussi opposés de mœurs, de religion, et même de langage, que ceux qui composent le vaste empire des Russies. Le fier montagnard Ecossois, le robuste Irlandais, l'Indien effeminé, ne sont pas plus façonnés au joug Britannique que l'habitant du Caucase, le brave Tartare ou le guerrier Polonais à l'oppression Moscovite. Le gouvernement Russe, tout despotique qu'il parait, doit peut être encore aujourd'hui toute sa vigueur à l'esprit orgueilleux de ses anciens boyards, tour à tour les maîtres et les esclaves du trône; cet esprit se courbe et se relève comme par un ressort mystérieux dont le développement imprévu a souvent produit de soudaines et terribles catastrophes. On pourrait lui comparer l'oligarchie *ténébreuse* qui régit en secret les affaires de la Grande Bretagne. Que quelques lords s'assemblent à Londres dans une taverne, avec les chefs du parti populaire, le ministère tombe, et l'axe du monde politique est ébranlé: qu'une faction se forme au sein de la cour de Russie, qu'un Orloff soulève quelques compagnies des gardes, et l'empire change de maître. Il y a donc, dans deux gouvernements si différents par leur forme, un principe égal d'inquiétude, de discorde, et d'activité, qui les pousse incessamment à troubler l'harmonie du système général, et sur cette simple donnée, il serait encore possible de prouver que la Russie et l'Angleterre ont occasioné presque toutes les guerres du dernier siècle.'

The conclusion of this work, which affects the prophetic character, calls for no particular observation, except it be that we do not recollect a more decided instance of an unfortunate prediction than the following.

On ne verra plus les farouches enfans du nord menacer nos campagnes,

pagnes, nos cités et nos arts; déjà ils ont fui la terre fertile qu'ils avaient desolée. Bientôt ils maudiront l'alliance d'Albion, elle n'empêchera point qu'ils ne reconnaissent enfin des barrières, que leur orgueil n'osera plus franchir.'

We now turn to M. Montgalliard. We scarcely expected that any French author would have been found hardy enough to touch upon so delicate a subject as the second Polish war, at a moment so replete with disaster to the French arms as the close of the year 1812; and we considered such a publication at such a time as an additional proof of French assurance; but as the work was written at the commencement of the war it should rather be called an exposé of the causes which produced the rupture between the two powers, or the prospectus of a campaign intended to be fought; for it is unnecessary for us to observe, that the triumphal result which was foretold as destined to attend the arms of Buonaparte has happily been only in anticipation.

It appears that the French army in taking the field last year was accompanied by the usual train of men of science in different departments, whose productions were intended to perpetuate the triumphs of their master; and M. Montgalliard, we suppose, was employed on this service. He was well known in this country some few years ago, and at that time was chiefly distinguished for the inveterate hatred which he expressed to the present ruler of the French government. He is now a count of the empire, and we do not recollect ever to have seen a more nauseous dose of flattery than he has administered to the author of his fortunes in the work before us. It is in fact only a more enlarged view of that position which we have seen laid down in every state-paper that has of late years proceeded from the pen of Buonaparte:—that Russia and England are the sole causes of the desolating war which has for so long a period extended its ravages to every quarter of the globe; and that nothing short of the total expulsion of the Russians from Europe, and the dismemberment of their overgrown empire can secure the civilized countries of the south from being a second time overrun by the barbarians of the north, or preserve the whole world from becoming subject to the tyranny which England has so long exercised over the seas.

The means which our author conceives adequate to avert these dreadful calamities are the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and the restoration of the Ottoman empire to its pristine splendor; and these objects he considers as sufficient to justify 'cette foule de victoires que les armées Françaises sont maintenant obligées de remporter sur le Volga et sur le Neva:' and, though the Poles may be pardoned for doubting the propriety of the

the selection, the instrument to be employed in this great work is, as may naturally be expected, his patron Buonaparte.

Since the days of Sully no politician has been hardy enough to entertain so gigantic a project as M. Montgalliard has broached in what he call his '*grande verité politique; c'est que le salut de l'Europe veut que l'empire Russe soit relegué en Sibirie.*' The French statesman, however, might be excused for proposing to compel the Grand Duke of Muscovy to retire into Asia, should he, after a formal invitation, refuse to enter into Henry's grand political scheme, for at that time the czar was rather considered as an eastern despot than a European potentate, and was a widely different person in political importance from the present Emperor of Russia. At all events, experience has proved that, in modern times, this project is easier in theory than in practice; and the rival of Hannibal, who took the field last year with the confident expectation of compelling the Russian court to retire to Tobolsky, is now obliged to confine his views to the driving back of these '*barbarian hordes*' (as he affects to call them) to their '*frightful climate.*' So much for the general scope of Montgalliard's book. He has divided it into three chapters, which are entitled Considerations on the following Subjects:

1st. The resources of Russia and her general system of politics.

2dly. On Poland and the intrigues of Russia in regard to that power, and

3dly. On Turkey, and the conduct of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg with respect to the Porte, and more especially to the Treaty of Tilsit which guaranteed its integrity.

We shall not adhere to this arrangement in the observations which we have to offer; and in fact the author might have spared himself the trouble of dividing his work into separate chapters which treat indiscriminately of all the subjects before him. Though sufficiently puffed up with national vanity, and jealous of the reputation of his countrymen, he is not disposed to allow to M. de Voltaire the rank which has generally been assigned to him in the scale of French writers. His eulogium on Peter the First, and his courtly panegyrics on the Empress Catherine offend the pure and uncontaminated ears of the historian who writes under the auspices of the Great Napoleon, in whose favour an advantageous comparison is drawn at the expense of the czar.

The early part of the Russian history, like the first annals of every other country, contains little that is interesting. The people seem to have been engaged in a constant state of warfare, either with the Poles on one frontier, or the Turks and Tartars on the other; and for near 200 years we find them subject to Genghis

Khan

Khan and his descendants. The House of Ruric, however, in 1475 regained the ascendancy, and Russia owes her deliverance from the Tartar yoke to the bravery and skill of Ivan III. On the extinction of the dynasty of Ruric, the family of Romanof ascended the throne, from which sprung Peter the First. The comprehensive and ambitious mind of this great prince appears early to have discovered the vast importance of obtaining an outlet for the commerce of his country on the Euxine as well as the Baltic Sea, and in consequence it became the object of his constant solicitude, whilst employed in establishing the seat of empire on the gulph of Finland, to secure at the same time a naval station towards Turkey which might open a way for his fleets to the Mediterranean.

The czar has been blamed for not carrying his arms in the first instance against the Turks, and his conduct in this point has been defended by Volney in his *Considerations on the Turkish War of 1788*. He there contends that Peter, by measuring his strength in the first instance with European powers, acquired an experience in the art of war which gave him great advantages afterwards against his southern neighbours; and he appears at one time to have been so bent upon confining his views of conquest to his western frontier, that the King of Prussia states in his memoirs, that the czar had it once in contemplation to allow the country to the south of the fertile districts around Mosco, to remain an uncultivated steppe as a natural barrier to the incursions of the restless Tartars.

The projects, however, of Peter were not crowned with uniform success. By the unfortunate reverse which his arms sustained on the Pruth, in 1711, he was compelled to restore to the Turks Asoph, and all the possessions which had been formally ceded to him by the peace of Carlowitz in 1699. The vast schemes which were originally planned by the founder of the Russian greatness, have been in some degree followed up by all his successors, but by no one with such signal success as by Catherine II. who at one time did not scruple to avow her sanguine expectation of establishing her grandson at Constantinople, on the ruins of the Turkish empire.

The peace of Kainardgi, in 1774, secured to Russia a passage through the Dardanelles for her merchant ships, and the free navigation of the Black Sea: the nominal independence which it provided for the Crimea, was soon after violated by a manifesto from the empress, which announced her intention of uniting it to her empire. By the Treaty of Jassy, in 1791, she was confirmed in the possession of all these valuable acquisitions, and the Turks were compelled to cede all the territory between the Bog and the Dniester, and to retire behind the latter river. Though the danger

to which the Turkish empire was at that time exposed by the success of the Russian arms in this direction did not pass unobserved by foreign powers, no effectual measures were taken to arrest their progress, and the determined resolution shewn by Catherine, not to give up Oczakow, though threatened with an armament from this country, sufficiently evinces the importance she attached to that commanding fortress.

It is curious to observe, that France, who was antiently the foremost in sending forth her chivalrous knights to rescue the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, should now proclaim herself as the only ally in whom the sultan can with propriety confide, and that the intrigues of her ambassadors, and the tardy arrival of the diplomatic agents from this country, at moments when their presence was most required, should appear to have persuaded the Turks of the truth of this assertion; and it is no less remarkable that an empire whose dissolution has been so long predicted, should have survived the downfall of its most formidable enemies—the knights of Malta, the Genoese and Venetians. So early as the days of Sully, the Turkish crescent was supposed to be in its wane; and he appears to have imagined that by the Franks, into whose power, according to received tradition, Constantinople was ultimately to fall, were exclusively designated his own countrymen, the French. But in spite of various predictions, and the popular belief among the Turks that their country is to be overrun by a red-haired people from the north, the Grand Signior has quietly continued to divide his time between the placid occupation of chewing opium, and the pleasures of his harem, and has seldom been awakened from the dull uniformity of Ottoman ceremony, excepting by the occasional conflagration of a part of his capital, an unequivocal symptom of discontent among the people.

The feeble condition of the Turkish empire did not escape the notice of Montesquieu, though with his usual acuteness he did not draw the same conclusions from its imbecility that others have already done. His words are worth insertion. '*L'empire des Turcs est à présent dans le même degré de foiblesse où étoit autrefois celui des Grecs, mais il subsistera long temps; car, si quelque prince que ce fût, mettroit cet empire en péril, en poursuivant ses conquêtes, les trois puissances commerçantes de l'Europe connoissent trop leurs affaires pour n'en pas prendre la défense sur le champ.*'

To the clear and comprehensive writings of such an author as this, has succeeded a class of speculators on political subjects, who may with some degree of propriety be termed political empirics. Such men, having no fixed principles to direct their inquiries, are unequal to the task of pointing out the probable course of events by comparing

comparing them with what is past; and with an utter contempt of all interposing difficulties, we find them carried away by some durling project which they prescribe as a panacea to heal all the disorders that may afflict the commonwealth of Europe. Of this school is an author who is frequently quoted by M. Montgalliard under the name of Sir Williams Eton, or in other words, Mr. W. Eton, who, after having been employed for some years as a commercial agent at Constantinople, published, in 1798, a work upon Turkey, remarkable for nothing but the enthusiasm with which he maintains the necessity of carrying into effect his favourite project, the restoration of the Greeks, after proving that they are a people by no means deserving a state of more freedom than that which they possess; and for the extreme generosity with which he would give up Constantinople to the Russians, as a mode of preserving it from falling into worse hands. That it must become a prey to one of the great contending powers of the present day is his fixed opinion, and he therefore conceives it to be our interest to favour the designs of Russia in that quarter, as the least likely to be prejudicial to the welfare of this country, and most conducive to the accomplishment of his grand design, the re-establishment of the Grecian empire.

There is another work of a similar stamp which we are surprised to observe has escaped the notice of the French author before us; we allude to the political treatises of Mr. F. G. Leckie, to whom we are indebted for the first outline of a project which has since been enlarged upon by others, and which is that of maintaining an insular empire by taking possession of the islands around the coast of Europe. On the adoption of this measure, according to Mr. Leckie, the whole safety of the civilized world must depend; and the danger which he sees hanging over Turkey from the arms of Buonaparte affords him an additional reason for urging the necessity of it. Our first efforts, he conceives, ought to be directed against the islands in the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, and for the reasons which he details in the following passage.

‘It may be shewn, that the fall of Constantinople will be a new epoch in naval history; in the hands of the French, the ancient Byzantium will become one of the most formidable arsenals in the world. The marine stores of Russia will descend from the Black Sea by the Borysthenes, the forests of Asia Minor, the iron of Caucasus, the copper of Chalcedon, the hemp of Sinope and Trebisond, celebrated for its long staple and strength, all will flow to Constantinople; the mariners of Greece, Ionia, and the islands will flock thither for employment; and the foundation of a naval power will be laid which our statesmen are determined not to foresee. France will not only then be enabled to build ships at a cheaper rate than elsewhere, from the abundance

dance of naval stores with which she will be furnished, but her fleets will always be able to force a passage into the Mediterranean after having acquired, in the Black Sea, in perfect security, a skill in manœuvring, and every other naval operation, which they cannot now arrive at whilst cooped up in the harbours of France.'

This is an alarming prospect, but fortunately later events have rendered such a state of things less than ever to be apprehended. It may be worth while, however, to examine cursorily what is the real political importance belonging to the Black Sea, and the resources of the countries which are situated on its shores; as it will enable us to form some judgment of the justice of M. Montgalliard's assertion, that Constantinople is the only bulwark against the designs of universal dominion which Russia has in view, and that a state of universal barbarism must ensue should she succeed in her designs upon Turkey.

From the account which is given by Herodotus, of the imprudent expedition undertaken by Darius against Scythia, we derive the earliest information respecting the tribes which occupied the country to the north and north-west of the Euxine. The Persian king is supposed not to have entered the Crimea, but to have advanced along the banks of the Palus Mæotis to the Volga, and thence to have made his way back to the Danube by a different route. The tribes through which he passed are described by the historian as having occasioned no small molestation to his army: they appear to have been very much the same people as are still to be found in that tract of country; and it is impossible not to be struck with the little change a lapse of 2000 years has effected in their habits and condition, on meeting with the wandering Nagais with their tents upon wheels, which so exactly answer to the Hamaxobii of Herodotus. The origin of the Cossacks is still a controverted point, or we should be inclined to look for their ancestors among those warlike tribes who made the most formidable resistance to the progress of Darius.

The Crimea is said to have been inhabited by a more savage race of people, to whose cruel treatment of shipwrecked mariners has been attributed the epithet of 'inhospitable,' by which the Black Sea was formerly distinguished; and Gibbon has observed how beautiful a use Euripides has made, in one of his most affecting tragedies, of the received opinion, that strangers were on this shore sacrificed to Diana by the natives. We hear little of the Taurica Chersonesus, (the ancient name by which this peninsula was known,) till the time of Mithridates. It formed in his reign a considerable part of the kingdom of Bosphorus, and it was to this quarter of his dominions that he fled, when pressed by the Roman armies in Pontus, and there ended his days by a voluntary death.

Until

Until about the 14th century the Krimea does not appear to have been much visited by foreigners for mercantile purposes: amidst the disorders which agitated the Greek empire at that period, the Genoese were fortunate enough to secure the important privilege of a free navigation on the Black Sea, to the exclusion of all competitors, and an unrestrained commerce with the ports of the Krimea. Their establishments on this coast were of a magnitude and importance unusual in those days, as the remains of their fortifications at Caffa and Sudak sufficiently prove; and they by degrees acquired such an ascendancy in the affairs of the peninsula, that the descendant of Genghis Khan in his palace at Bachtiserai was kept in complete subjection by these spirited adventurers; and by monopolizing the traffic of the interior, and exchanging the produce of the salt lakes for the corn and fish which were brought down the great rivers from the more northern parts of Russia, Constantinople itself became in some measure dependent upon supplies from this quarter for the subsistence of its immense population.

The Genoese, on the overthrow of the Greek empire, were at last expelled by the Turks, and the Krimea remained subject to the Ottoman power, till it was annexed by Catherine to her dominions in the way that we have stated. It cannot be doubted that this is the most important acquisition made by that great princess in prosecution of her designs upon Turkey; and though we are not disposed with Mr. Eton, to consider 'the mouth unholy that dares to arraign her right to this conquest,' its importance to her as securing the command of the Black Sea will not admit of any dispute.

Hitherto, however, Russia has reaped but little benefit from her new possession, and has neglected to avail herself of the numerous advantages which it holds out for naval as well as commercial purposes. Such is the genial nature of the climate, that there are few productions which might not be brought to perfection in the southern parts of the Krimea. In the delicious vallies found in the mountainous tract which extends along the coast, the vine is cultivated with considerable success; and Pallas conceives that the culture of the cotton plant, and the raising of the silkworm might be introduced there with equal advantage.

Though they were formerly well clothed with timber, few trees of any size are now to be met with on the mountains; which is chiefly to be attributed to the havoc incessantly made among the young plants for domestic purposes by the Tartar inhabitants. As the soil, however, is peculiarly favourable to the growth of wood, a valuable supply might no doubt in process of time be hence obtained, were proper measures taken to prevent its destruction; and it is of more importance that some attention should be paid to this subject than may be at first imagined; for though no country

possesses such natural facility for internal communication by water as Russia, she has not been enabled to provide her dock-yards on the Black Sea with timber in such abundance as to allow her to build ships of war there as cheaply as in her northern arsenals.

The Baltic and Caspian seas are connected by means of the Volga, and the communication between the Baltic and Black seas is only interrupted by the cataracts on the Dnieper; but the project of uniting the Don and the Volga, which was originally designed by Selim the Second, and afterwards taken up by Peter the Great, has never been carried into complete execution, on account of local difficulties; and therefore the timber of Woronetz, which is supposed to be the finest in Russia, cannot be transported to the sea of Asoph without considerable expense.

Those countries bordering on the Black sea which have not fallen under the dominion of Russia, are described as producing an abundance of timber well calculated for all the purposes of ship-building; and such is the profuse waste of this valuable article in the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, that much of the unhealthiness of Jassy and Bucharest is supposed to arise from the stagnant water collected under the planks with which the streets of these towns are laid.

The north coast of Anatolia is covered with wood, but Russia cannot of course depend upon a regular supply from that quarter, nor is she likely to be more successful than ourselves in her applications to the Porte on this subject. More than one attempt has been made by our ministers at Constantinople, to procure timber for the repairs of our fleet at Malta, by an arrangement with the Turkish government. Our object was to obtain it from the forest that covers the tract of country, between the Gulph of Isnikmid, and the river Sakaria, which possesses great facilities of water carriage: but the uniform answer to our proposals has been, that 'the Grand Signior does not condescend to traffic in any thing.'

The successors of Peter the Great are blamed by Mr. Éton (and in our opinion unjustly) for a degree of vacillation as to whether it was the true interest of Russia to become a maritime power in the northern or southern parts of Europe. It has certainly been their constant object to establish a marine in both quarters, and though some of the towns which were founded by Catherine in the southern parts of her dominions may appear to have been rather capriciously abandoned to make way for new favourites, this may be sufficiently accounted for, by the gradual manner in which she conducted her approaches against her neighbours the Turks, so that places which were originally of material importance ceased to continue so, when a more valuable possession was secured by the progress of her arms. Thus Oczakow, which was founded by the
Turks

Turks to repress the incursions of the Cossacks, though most advantageously situated as the emporium for Russian produce in this quarter, has been abandoned for Odessa; and Sebastopol, it is probable, will in the same way become, in course of time, the chief naval arsenal in the Black Sea at the expense of Kherson and Nicolaief. The name of Sinus Portuosus, by which the bay on which it is situated was known, sufficiently points out what peculiar advantages for naval purposes the harbour of Aktiar or Sebastopol was supposed by the ancients to possess; like that of Malta, it abounds with small inlets which are admirably calculated for the careening and repairing of ships. The depth of water is such, that vessels of the largest burthen may lie with perfect safety quite close to the shore, and the whole navy of Russia might ride here sheltered from every wind that blows. A fleet stationed here in its progress to the southward is not exposed to those dangers to which ships on their departure from Kherson or Nicolaief are subject. The harbour too of Sebastopol is never blocked up by ice, and the water, being strongly impregnated with salt, is not so pernicious to shipping as that of the Dnieper.

Nothing but the certain prospect of the immense advantages to be derived from the corn trade with Poland could have led to the foundation of a city, in a spot exposed to so many serious inconveniences as Odessa. The country around is a dreary steppe, without a tree in any direction to diversify the scene. The water with which the town is supplied, is of the worst description; and as the original plan for the harbour has never been carried into execution, the greater part of the vessels which frequent this port must lie in a very exposed roadstead. Yet, as the emporium of the valuable productions of Poland, Odessa will, no doubt, in spite of these disadvantages, rise to considerable importance, and Taganrog, from a similar cause, being the entrepot of all the Siberian commodities, will probably prove its most successful rival, though the difficulties of the navigation in that quarter are daily increasing from the rapid diminution of water in the sea of Asoph.

With all these advantages, however, it does not appear that there is much cause for apprehension or jealousy at the growth of the Russian naval power in the Black sea. It will be some time before her fleet in that quarter can assume a formidable shape, unless her progress in naval science and skill should be far more rapid than it has been hitherto. At such a distance from the seat of government, it is not surprising that there should be much mismanagement and neglect in the proper administration of the naval concerns. We doubt too the durability of the vessels there constructed, for it is notorious that, of the fleet under Admiral Siniavin,

which originally sailed from Sebastopol, and which was surrendered to us at Lisbon, only two ships have been found capable of proceeding again to sea, and that after considerable repair. Though great attention has been paid of late to obtaining correct surveys of the Caspian and Black seas, the charts of both are still extremely defective.* The Russian ships of war are so seldom exercised in the requisite manœuvres, that it would be matter of wonder, if they had obtained more nautical skill than they are known to possess.

We have heard much of the dangers of the Euxine, and of the difficulties attending the entrance of the Bosphorus, but we are rather disposed to attribute the bad name which this sea has acquired to the ignorance and want of seamanship of the mariners who frequent it. A stronger proof cannot be given of this deficiency than a fact which we know to be true; it is, that during the late war against the Turks, when an expedition against Trebisonde was in agitation, the only person that could be found capable of piloting the Russian ships of war into that harbour, was an English merchant resident at Caffa; and he actually did lead the fleet into the bay of Trebisonde, and conducted the operations till the design was abandoned. We mention these circumstances with the persuasion, that a more vigilant attention to the concerns of her navy in this quarter will enable Russia to correct the abuses which have crept into her service, and to improve the discipline and skill of her seamen.

The cry of danger to be apprehended from the introduction of a new naval power in the Mediterranean, has always proceeded from the French; and Volney is the only author of that nation who has ventured to assert his opinion that the destruction of the Turkish empire would not prove prejudicial to France, and that Russia ought to be considered as a more valuable ally than the Sultan and his janissaries.

We confess, for our parts, that we are not disposed to preach with him and Mr. Eton a crusade against the Turks, and to insist upon the necessity of expelling them from Europe. The Dardanelles cannot perhaps be in safer hands, though unfortunately the ascendancy which France has at all times maintained in the Divan has been, in more than one instance, extremely prejudicial to this country. Still less can we bring ourselves to view with that apprehension which has been expressed by more sensible

* We hope the example lately shewn by this country in dispatching an intelligent naval officer to complete a survey of the south coast of Asia Minor, which we doubt not will afford much useful information, will stimulate our allies to acquire more accurate information of the state of their own shores.

writers than those we have already quoted, the rise of a rival navy in the Mediterranean, whose fleets would be manned with seamen from the coasts of Albania and Greece. The degraded state to which the greater part of the continent has for many years been reduced, has led us, and not unnaturally, to trust almost entirely to our own resources for the accomplishment of any object that we may happen to have in view; but it is vain and presumptuous to suppose that all our plans can be carried into execution by ourselves alone, and the economising system of wrapping ourselves up in our nut-shell, and leaving the continent to take care of itself, is daily losing many of its advocates.

We have always considered the jealousy shewn by this country of any improvement in the navy of those states which are our natural allies, as a mean and selfish feeling, unworthy of the spirit of ancient times; and we are not surprised that it should have given some colour to the accusation so often brought against us by France, as it is in the work before us, of aiming at the exclusive dominion of the seas, as well as the whole commerce of the world. This system, if carried beyond its due length, must, we conceive, prove extremely prejudicial to ourselves. If never brought into action, our fleets will lose much of their skill in manœuvring, as well as our sailors their knowledge in the use of the guns. They were never more formidable than when constantly engaged with a skilful and intrepid enemy, as in the wars with the Dutch; and the want of opportunities of distinction, which has, until of late years, operated against our army, would undoubtedly have its effect upon our fleet.

England, according to our idea, should encourage, as far as she can, the growth of a naval power in the Mediterranean, who may one day be able to cope with the fleets of France in that sea. We therefore deprecate all jealousy of the Russian progress in the attainment of naval knowledge, and we rejoice to find that the part of the Russian fleet which is now under the orders of one of our most intelligent officers, is as anxious to improve in naval tactics as we, on our parts, are willing to communicate the skill which we possess. It may perhaps startle some of our readers, but we confess that it would give us much satisfaction to see a Russian fleet in the Adriatic, and their troops in possession of some of those points on the coast which it has so long been their object to obtain. We allude to Corfu, or Cattaro, where the Montenegrin inhabitants, who are known to be inclined to Russia, might at all times be employed as a most formidable diversion in any operation against France. Had we possessed allies in that quarter at the commencement of the last campaign, it is easy to perceive of what incalculable advantage they might have proved to the common

cause at so important a moment. Whilst the French armies were occupied in the north of Europe, had a combined force of 20 or 30,000 men been transported across the Adriatic to the coasts of Italy, the whole country would have been in arms; and with the support which we could have afforded from Sicily, the French corps in the Tyrol which was employed to watch Austria, and which has formed the ground-work of Buonaparte's present army, might have been overpowered, and as signal a blow given to the French influence in the south of Europe, as it has suffered by the disastrous result of the campaign in the north.

Italy, though she has been long silent under the severe and grinding oppression of the French, is not destitute of true patriots, who are prepared to sacrifice every thing for the welfare of their country, but who are wise enough to perceive that no permanent advantages can be gained except by a strict union of states which are now under different governors; and they have therefore prudently abstained from premature efforts which might have been crushed, before England (the only power in whom they are inclined to confide) could come to their assistance.

Such are a few of the ideas which we would suggest as calculated to quiet the alarms of those who dread the appearance of a power in the Mediterranean to whom nature seems to have denied all access to its shores: it may, perhaps, also have its use to notice the different reasons assigned by some of the writers we have already alluded to, for carrying into effect their schemes upon the Greek islands. 'What!' says Mr. Leckie, 'shall we allow Russia to acquire the means of attacking us on our own element by neglecting to secure possession of the valuable islands of Greece?' Whilst Mr. Eton, on the other hand, appears to consider it advantageous that Russia should appropriate them to herself, as the more her fleets shall be brought in contact with our own, the more completely, in his opinion, will they be at our mercy.

We have not time to follow Mr. Leckie through all the details of his scheme of insular empire, though, as the scene is principally laid in the Mediterranean, it is very much to our present purpose. It is sufficient perhaps to observe, that as the islands which he proposes to occupy, could not be maintained on the establishment of a third rate man of war, (like the rock of Anholt,) and as troops therefore must be forthcoming to garrison these new acquisitions at a time when every disposable man is employed on services of greater moment elsewhere; we may well rest contented, for the present at least, with that undisputed superiority in the Mediterranean which is enjoyed by our fleets; and which they will long continue to enjoy, if perseverance, enterprize, and unwearied exertion can secure it. We return to the affairs of Russia.

The

The epithet 'extreme' has been applied by Horace to the Tanaïs, (the Don.) It may be doubted whether the Russian sovereigns have been prudent in extending the boundary of their empire beyond the Don. The possession of Astrakhan, it is true, secures the command of the Caspian, and the commerce of that sea, but the projects against India, which have at various times been entertained by Russia, are chimerical; and though the Czar Peter retained possession for some years of the valuable provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabat, he was at last, though unwillingly, compelled to give them up. So valuable and compact a possession as the Crimea being once added to the empire, any extension of the Russian frontier to the southward on either side of the Black sea can only serve to divert a part of the disposable force of the country from the quarter where a powerful army is most required, and cannot in any way materially contribute to augment her resources.

Every war in which Russia has been engaged has only served to prove her utter inability to maintain a sufficient military force upon more than one frontier at the same time. It has accordingly been the constant policy of France to preserve a close alliance with Turkey and Sweden, which might enable her, when engaged in hostilities with Russia, to menace at the same moment, by means of these allies, both the northern and southern frontiers of that power. She has in all former wars carried this design into execution with more or less effect; and it is quite clear, that if Buonaparte had succeeded in his attempts to create a diversion in his favour on the part of Sweden, and at the same time been able to dissuade the Turks from making peace, the Emperor Alexander would have found it impossible to bring an army into the field in the last campaign equal to cope with the invader. Those who find fault therefore with the treaty lately concluded between this country and Sweden, should recollect this insufficiency of the resources of Russia, this inadequacy to repel the attacks prepared for her from all quarters. This it was which made it an object of the greatest importance to the cause to secure, at whatever price, the alliance of Sweden.

M. Montgalliard has devoted a whole chapter to the politics of Russia in regard to Turkey, and more especially to the alleged infraction on her part of the treaty of Tilsit, which guaranteed the integrity of that empire.

'Le cabinet de St. Petersburg,' says he, 'a fait tous ses efforts pour démembrer les provinces Ottomanes, et s'emparer de Constantinople. Ce cabinet a les yeux fixés sur cette capitale, comme le Mammon du Paradis Perdu sur le parvis des demeures célestes; et c'est par la conquête de la Pologne qu'il s'est flatté de consommer la destruction

de l'empire Ottoman, et qu'il à marché à ambition découverte sur Constantinople.'—p. 249.

When we reflect that without the possession of the Dardanelles, all attempts on the part of Russia to become a naval power beyond the limits of the Black sea, must be attended with considerable difficulty, and that she must, at all times, be in some degree dependant on a nation that despises all mercantile adventure, for whatever commerce she may acquire in that quarter, we cannot be surprised that Constantinople should always have been the chief point to which the projects of the greatest of the Russian sovereigns have been directed; nor can we wonder at the tender solicitude for the safety of that capital which is testified by the author before us. We have already noticed the anxiety of Catherine, and the gigantic schemes of conquest which she was inclined to entertain. If we may believe the Prince de Ligne, they were not at all to the taste of that coadjutor in most of her plans, the Emperor Joseph; for her eloquent discourses on the prospect of the revival of the arts and sciences in Greece, with the restoration of freedom in that country, seem only to have produced the pettish observation—'Eh, que diable faire de Constantinople?'

The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia being situated, like the Netherlands, between two powerful states, have always, like them, been the seat of war. The Turks, by the last treaty, were induced to cede Bessarabia to Russia, but they will naturally look with considerable jealousy to the approaches of their neighbours in the direction of these provinces. On the other hand, we cannot wonder that Russia should have been anxious to secure herself from insult on this frontier, when we recollect a note given to the divan by the French ambassador Sebastiani, in the year 1806, in which he broadly states, that the Turks cannot be permitted to allow Russian ships of war to pass the Bosphorus, 'sans donner à S. M. Napoleon le Grand le droit de traverser les états de l'empire Ottoman pour aller sur le Dniestre combattre l'armée Russe.'

After all, however it may suit the purposes of M. Montgalliard and his countrymen to testify an excess of sensibility for the fate of Turkey, it does not appear that there is any just cause for apprehension that Russia will make too rapid advances in this direction. The Balkan mountains (the ancient Hæmus) offer a most formidable barrier to an invading army, and the possession of the passes in this range must create an almost insurmountable obstacle. The Turkish armies, it is true, are no longer composed of the same troops, or led by the same generals that once spread terror and dismay to the gates of Vienna, but they are still able to make a formidable opposition to the progress of the Russian arms; and we must recollect, in estimating their power, that in the war of

1788, they withstood, for four successive campaigns, the united force of Austria and Russia.*

We now come to a subject which we should willingly refrain from touching—we mean the conduct of Russia in regard to the partition of Poland. It is amusing enough to read the abuse lavished upon the Empress Catherine on this occasion, and we should be almost led to imagine that our author, at the time he was writing, had forgotten the system of *arrondissements*, which has been so universally adopted by the hero he celebrates, or that he conceives us to be ignorant of the well known facts, that at the conferences with D'Oubril, the Emperor of Russia was informed by the French negociator that he was at liberty to extend his frontier towards Poland as far as he wished, and that at Tilsit the Vistula was pointed out to him as the natural boundary of his empire.

A certain class of politicians in this country, however they may be disposed to coincide with the author before us in the view which he has taken of the Russian government and people, will not, we imagine, be equally inclined to subscribe to his opinion of the talents of their great leader Mr. Fox; nor (we think it right to premise) do we go along with him in all he has advanced on this subject, though he may be correct as to certain points.

‘Lorsque Mr. Fox,’ says he, ‘sanctionnait le démembrement de ce royaume, demandait une entière adhésion à toutes les vues de la cour de St. Petersburg, et autorisait d’avance le partage de la Turquie, lorsqu’entraîné par sa haine contre la France, ou peut être corrompu par les largesses de Catherine II. ce membre du parlement approuvait avec une sorte de fureur le traité de 1795 conclu entre l’Angleterre et la Russie, traité par lequel tous les démembrements qu’il plairait à la dernière de ces puissances d’effectuer à l’avenir étaient tacitement reconnus par la première, Mr. Fox donnait la mesure de son caractère moral, et celle de ses talens politiques.’—p. 68.

Until the last campaign we have been in the constant habit of hearing from one quarter in this country, that the disgust excited in Russia at the expedition sent by England against Copenhagen, was the chief cause of the war between the two countries. This assertion, it is true, has since been satisfactorily disproved, but it is curious to observe that our ally is now accused of having connived at the measure, and that it is coupled with other charges of grave accusation, such as the occupation of that part of Finland which belonged to Sweden, the ally of France; and the free commercial intercourse which subsisted between the English and Russian ports, though the countries were in a state of nominal war.

* ‘Pouvoit on croire,’ says the Prince de Ligne, ‘que cet empire Musulman delabré eut pu mettre l’armée Russe dans le plus triste état?’

We have always considered the forbearance shewn by this country towards Russia at that period as highly praiseworthy; and nothing could more effectually counteract the object which Buonaparte had in view, when the Berlin and Milan decrees were carried into execution elsewhere, than the refusal of Russia to enforce them in her sea-ports.

'Le cabinet de France a désiré, il a constamment voulu la prospérité de l'empire Ottoman.' Every project, on the contrary, which Russia undertakes, we are told, has ultimately its destruction in view, and that England is content to connive at the usurpation of her ally from the understanding that she is to obtain as an equivalent certain commercial advantages.

There is no subject upon which foreigners appear at all times to entertain more mistaken notions, than with regard to the commercial interests of this country: it is not wonderful therefore that a Frenchman of the present day should not be better informed in this particular than his countrymen in general. England, according to our author, reaps all the benefit of the trade which is carried on between this country and Russia, and our manufacturers are said to be enriched by the importation of raw materials which the Russians are obliged to take back, when made up, at exorbitant prices, being unable to make the most of the valuable commodities which their country affords. Now what M. Montgalliard affects to consider as a peculiar hardship under which the Russians labour, takes place in all species of traffic. The raw material is sent to that country which has hands and machinery to apply it to advantage, and manufactured goods are taken in exchange. It is also to be observed, that, in our commercial intercourse with Russia, the balance of trade is very much against us, and that Russia, as we have understood, owes the greater part of the internal commerce which was last year carried on by the Austrian frontier at Brody, to her refusal to exclude English goods from her ports.

We do not deny the importance to this country of maintaining such an intercourse with the north of Europe, as may enable her to procure a large supply of naval stores from the Baltic, but we have found by experience that they may be obtained from other quarters; and we are inclined to believe that the Russian landholder would suffer more from having the produce of his estate thrown upon his hands by the interruption of all trade between the two countries, than our merchants, by being obliged to seek another field for their speculations.

We are accused by M. Montgalliard of a desire to engross all the commerce of the world; and the circumstances of the times certainly give a colour to such an accusation. We are compelled to assert our maritime rights with a high hand, in order to preserve our
national

national independence; though we should condemn as impolitic and unjust that monopolizing spirit which would exclude every country but our own from a fair share of the benefits of commerce. It is absurd to flatter ourselves, that the English nation, though it may be admired and dreaded, is not looked upon with eyes of jealousy by the continent in general, and in no other manner can we so powerfully attach allies to our cause as by allowing them to participate in those commercial advantages which we exclusively possess.

The Berlin and Milan decrees are considered by M. Montgalliard as striking monuments of the political sagacity of Buonaparte, and the ministers of the Regent are told, that 'nothing but a pacific system of policy can avert all the evils which must follow from these formidable measures.' The confident tone in which the effects to be expected from the operation of the continental system is announced, will be amusing enough to those who have witnessed its total failure.

'Heureusement pour l'Europe, l'Empéreur Napoléon tient entre ses mains le sort de l'Angleterre, la liberté des mers, l'indépendance du commerce des deux hémisphères, la paix du monde; le maintien du décret qui déclare les Isles Britanniques en état de blocus, et l'affaiblissement de la puissance Russe, assurent ces grands et heureux résultats.'

Though it was from the beginning quite apparent that the late unprovoked attack by Buonaparte upon Russia, was chiefly to be attributed to the mortal hatred which he bears to this country, and to the injury which he trusted would result to us from the subjugation of our ally, we have never seen this fact so explicitly avowed as in the work before us.

'Ce sont les continuelles hostilités de l'Angleterre qui forcent l'Empéreur Napoléon de porter ses armées aujourd'hui jusque dans le centre de la Moscovie.'—p. 229.

We are not surprized at the spleen which is throughout betrayed by our author at the intimate union which now happily subsists between the two powers; we trust the insidious attempts of France to sow divisions between Great Britain and her allies will all meet with as little success as those of the work before us, and we earnestly pray that two powers, which for the good of the civilized world ought to be united, may cordially continue so for the sake of their own prosperity and renown.

ART. VIII. *Memoirs of William Paley, D. D.* By George Wilson Meadley. Second Edition, with an Appendix. Edinburgh, Constable, and Co. London, Cradock and Joy. 1810. 8vo. pp. 404.

'**SEPULCHRUM** haud pulchrum pulchrae feminæ' is an incongruity not peculiar to Gruter. But departed genius, as well as departed beauty, claims a master's hand; the one in the sculptor, the other in the biographer. Yet it has too often been the misfortune of both to have their memories consigned to humble friends and unskilful, though flattering, artists.

Paley was among the few gifted men of the present age who have merited an union of talent and affection in the man that should undertake to deliver their lives and characters to posterity. Such, moreover, and so intimate had long been his connexion with one family eminently qualified for the purpose, that, after his decease, the public naturally looked with some degree of hope and expectation to that quarter. But the reserve of high rank, and the engagements of a laborious profession may be supposed to have prevented the exertions of one individual, while another and an earlier friend, broken down by bad health, and expecting soon to follow the subject of this memoir, could only cultivate in private conversation, or in secret recollection, the memory of him whom he most loved while living, and most venerated when dead.

Dr. John Law was one of those accomplished Englishmen who have been transplanted from subordinate stations of competence and usefulness in England,

'To waste their sweetness on the desert air;' to spend their remaining days in the tumult of Hibernian politics; and, in the midst of bigotry and hatred, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over a clergy without congregations. Such has been the lot, such indeed the reward of ill-judging ambition in more tranquil times: but this unfortunate prelate fell upon evil days as well as evil tongues; and situated as he found himself, at its eruption, in the very focus of the Irish rebellion, by an unhappy determination not to quit a post in which his presence could have little effect, anxiety and alarm laid the foundation of those complicated diseases which hurried him to the grave.

This event, and those which led to it, the public have to deplore on their own account as well as his; since the leisure and tranquillity of Carlisle, from which he was transplanted, would probably not only have prolonged his days, but produced that tribute to the memory of his friend, which (without meaning any disrespect to the present biographer) must be allowed to have fallen into
very

very different hands: for, in addition to a manly and penetrating understanding, a severe integrity, and an erudition able not only to comprehend the attainments of his friend, but to assist and promote his inquiries, there was in the temper and manner of Dr. John Law, though the younger man of the two, something which, without either effort or intention, in the earlier days of their friendship, acquired and long maintained an high ascendant over the mind of Paley. Of the other able and intimate companions of his youth, some were gone before, and the rest did not long survive him: so that the memory of Paley might, in the course of a few years, have been preserved only in his works, had not the diligence and zeal of his present biographer exerted themselves, before it was too late, to collect many scattered anecdotes which, with their present depositaries, would quickly have been no more, and out of these, assisted by his own recollections, to embody such a resemblance, as his skill would permit, of this extraordinary man.

To Mr. Meadley, therefore, we feel and acknowledge some obligation; for, though we could antecedently have wished the task in other hands, yet before he seized it the undertaking appeared to have become a derelict, and it is no longer matter of censure, or even of surprize, that he undertook it; for it ought to be a rule of criticism, as it is of law; in every case to accept the best evidence which can be procured.

To this second edition of the work before us, (which, on account of the 'enlargement' it has received, gives us an opportunity of completing the sketch which we laid before the reader in a former No.*) we have, as a whole, no very material objections: the style is not exceptionable; the facts and dates are accurate; the writer's apprehension of the character which he has undertaken to delineate, though somewhat faint, is usually right: while, with a becoming interest in the subject, his admiration is never excessive, his panegyric never disgusting. With all these merits, this *Life of Paley* as a man of genius and originality not surpassed in our days, has one radical deficiency, which the writer could not help—an absence of those magic touches of art which constitute the difference between a dead and living resemblance, between the tame though faithful strokes of a moderate artist and the magic touches of a Reynolds, which are able to draw intellect and passion out of canvass, and appear almost to reanimate the dead. The political party, indeed, to which this writer belongs, have never been celebrated for such powers: the faculty, however, of distorting and misrepresenting, of seeing every object through their own coloured medium, of depreciating the most generous acts and darkening the

* No. III, Art. IV.

brightest characters, they have abundantly imparted to their pupil Mr. Meadley. But more of this hereafter.

William Paley, though not actually born in the district of Yorkshire called Craven, was descended of Craven parents, and transplanted thither in his infancy. The inhabitants of this rugged and remote tract have, like other mountaineers, a character more strongly marked than their lowland neighbours, from which Paley derived an early tincture, which no intercourse with the world ever wore off, or produced an inclination to wear off. With clear and shrewd understandings, great humour and naiveté in their conversation, fondness for old stories, rusticity often affected, and a dialect which heightens and sets off every other peculiarity, that country has produced many archetypes of this extraordinary man, though none perhaps with equal powers of reasoning, or even invention.

In this congenial soil and climate, therefore, he appeared less original, less of a phenomenon than any where else. But here too the unworn asperities of his manner, by exciting the least surprise, gave the least offence, and here perhaps to the last day of his life he most willingly reposed, and found himself most at home. The highest advancement in the church would, in this respect, have had no effect upon him. He was, and ever would have been, what Lipsius called *Vespasian*,—*homo subrusticus et vere Sabinus*.

In his education every thing seemed prepared and disposed in order to demonstrate what some minds can do for themselves. From the school of his own obscure village, where little was taught, and that little far from well, he was sent to Cambridge to contend with the polished sons of Eton and Westminster, and the result was that he bore away one of the most honourable prizes from them all. Here two of the three years allotted to a severe course of academical study were loitered away by Paley in unconnected and desultory reading. A third year of severe application placed him above his competitors.

The Cambridge system of study is a *forcing* system, which, applying itself almost wholly to one subject, and being adapted to minds of a single cast, frequently debilitates the understanding through life, by the effort to produce a single fruitage. Paley was none of these sickly productions of toil and art: his powers once roused became spontaneously and abundantly prolific, and the native fertility of his mind, instead of being exhausted or impaired by a single push, appeared to be invigorated by severe exertion.

We are next to contemplate him as a teacher and a guide, as fellow and tutor of his college. Here he had the fortune to be associated with an admirable coadjutor, Mr. John Law, in concert with whom he planned and executed a laborious and comprehensive

sive system of institution, supported by a vigorous and spirited discipline. This deserves to be remembered as one of the last attempts in that, and perhaps either University, to sustain or to revive the ancient tone of authority, which was at once rough and affectionate, peremptory and parental. 'You do not treat me like a gentleman,' said a young man to one of these faithful reprovers, in the new spirit which was just beginning to appear, 'You do not treat me like a gentleman.' 'I never meant to do so,' was the answer, 'but as a boy under discipline.' We record this as a specimen of the true temper of an old tutor in an English university before the spirit of gentlemanship had eaten out both authority and attachment, which are now succeeded by an intercourse between the governors and the governed, the teachers and the taught, so perfectly elegant and well-bred, and at the same time so cool and mutually indifferent, that it might seem as if the only object in view was for the one party to maintain his popularity, and the other his independence. How far the Universities have given way to the general spirit of the times, or how far, by concession to youthful encroachment, they have contributed to the lamentable diffusion of that spirit through the kingdom, we shall not at present inquire. Thus much, however, is certain, that its effects have been equally pernicious in public and domestic life; and even in the Universities themselves what has been gained (or rather what has not been lost) by the exchange? The tutor was more loved when he was more feared, and the pupil, instead of the liberty which he claims, has, at the most dangerous period of life, become the slave of his own will and passions.

*'Di majorum animis tenuem et sine pondere terram,
Spirantesque rosas et in urnâ perpetuum ver,
Qui præceptorem sancto voluere parentis
Esse loco!'*

The following anecdote, which reflects the highest honour on these two virtuous and independent young men, shall be told, after a short preface, in Mr. Meadley's words. About the time of a great contest for the High Stewardship of the University, which is in the recollection of many persons yet alive, the members of the Senate had ranged themselves under two noblemen of very opposite characters, though both of great abilities. The partizans very naturally resembled their respective patrons. The leaders of the former party shall be nameless; of the latter, we mention with honour that intrepid spirit the present Bishop of Landaff.

'When,' says our biographer, 'the hall of Christ's College, which had been promised through the interest of Dr. Shepherd, was fitting up for a benefit concert for Ximenes, a Spanish musician, warmly patronised by Lord Sandwich, Mr. Paley and Mr. Law peremptorily insisted that

that the promise should be recalled, unless satisfactory assurance was given that a lady then living with his lordship, and who had been openly distributing tickets, should not be permitted to attend. At first the senior tutor, who was in habits of intimacy with Lord Sandwich, (a very reputable connexion for a divine and an institutor of youth,) 'objected to the idea of excluding any lady from a public concert: but afterwards when they urged that standing in a public situation as the instructors of youth, it was their duty to discountenance every sort of immorality, and threatened to appeal to the Society in case of his refusal, the assurance was given, and the *arrangement* suffered to proceed.'

Be it remembered, that of these two champions of morality and decorum, the older was then no more than twenty-eight!

It was about the same time, and by means of the same early connexion, that Mr. Paley was introduced as chaplain into the family of Dr. Law, then newly appointed to the bishopric of Carlisle, who like other scholarlike men elevated to these high situations in the decline of life, wanted an active and skilful coadjutor. Neither party had reason to repent of this connexion. The chaplain lived in his patron's family as an equal; their confidence was reciprocal; his services merited all which a see richer in patronage than that of Carlisle could bestow, and they received from the limited resources which it did afford more than his disinterested and unambitious temper aspired to. Beside a series of parochial preferment of no great value, he became successively Prebendary of the Cathedral, and Archdeacon and Chancellor of the diocese.

We stop the progress of the narrative for a moment, in order to notice, before they are left too far behind, some particulars in the early character of Paley as a scholar and a writer. It is not a little diverting that the first known composition of a man who never afterwards discovered a glimpse of poetical taste or imagination, should have been *A Poem in the manner of Ossian*. Had we been assured that the first work of Mr. Gray had been a solution of some mathematical problem in the Lady's Diary, we should scarcely have been more astonished. His next performance, of which more than one copy appears to be extant, is his Prize dissertation, written when senior Bachelor of Arts, where, in a style somewhat uncouth and rugged but with great vigour of thought, and a promise of all his future excellence as a reasoner, he supports the cause of the Epicurean philosophy, disencumbered by him with great skill from the load of calumny with which it had been oppressed by its enemies, against the impracticable and unnatural dogmata of Zeno. Of this original performance Mr. Meadley has given a short specimen from the conclusion; to which we shall subjoin the exordium.

* Cum e Græcia jamdudum cesserit philosophia atque serò admodum
apud

apud nostros expetita lacertos tandem porrexisse videatur, utile profecto erit atque huic certè loco accommodatum, disjecta philosophorum monumenta respicere eorumque ita conferre utilitates, ut habeamus aliquando quo lare et nos tutemur et civitatem. Quæ quidem utilitatum comparatio et quasi contentio cum ipsa per se sit fructuosa et frugifera, tum maxime nostris eò studiis commendatur quod materiam hancce veteres integram omninò intactamque reliquere. Quamdiu enim vixit Athenis philosophia, quisque suæ sunt astricti disciplinæ, eamque ad augendam totos sese penitusque tradidere; inde propriis delectati studiis, aliena aut omninò contempsere aut parum studiose prosecuti sunt. Affectibus planè præpediti ad dogmata *diversarum* scholarum excutienda accessere, magistros interea suos superstitiose venerantes.

This composition, in the midst of the drudgery of a school, to which the talents of Paley had then been condemned, is said to have been the work of a fortnight; but the materials, of which there is a copious suppellex in the notes, must have been the result of long and previous research. Paley had not yet begun to disdain a parade of ancient authorities; but from this time, he employed himself much better in drawing from the stores of his own mind than in borrowing the best sense of antiquity on moral subjects, far inferior for the most part to his own.

‘In the pulpit,’ says his biographer of him, at the same period, ‘he was less admired, his early discourses being verbose and florid, a fault by no means rare in men of genius, before they have acquired a purer and more simple style.’ And again—‘It was probably his present experience which led him afterwards to remark, in reference to those who had two sermons to preach every week, that they had better steal one of them; for though a sermon occupied the preacher only about twenty minutes in the delivery, it took, or ought to take him, more than half a week in the composition. And yet few men could compose more rapidly than himself. He seems to have entertained a very low opinion of that kind of vapid declamation which imposes so much upon the multitude.’ And truly so does every man, even of ordinary taste or understanding. But, if Mr. Meadley wishes it to be understood that the earlier discourses of Paley partook of that ‘vapid declamation’ which his better taste condemned, we must be allowed to differ from him. Several of these discourses are known to be extant; and more perhaps are remembered as delivered from the pulpit. They were indeed declamatory: they certainly wanted the closeness and cogency of his later compositions; but they were neither verbose, nor florid, nor vapid: they were the forcible and animated effusions of a young orator, who by a due severity to his own luxuries was shortly to attain to excellence.

It is only minds of great elasticity and vigor, conscious of their

ability to enlighten mankind, and aware of the responsibility attached to great talents, which, after having quitted the great scenes of learning, continue to pursue their studies for the purpose of systematic instruction in the country—Paley was one of these: wherever settled or however employed, it was impossible for him not to observe or reflect; with such internal resources he wanted no library; and, with him, to compose was as easy as to converse. The series of works which a retirement of about twenty years produced is happily well known to the public; with them we have no immediate concern, and Mr. Meadley might have spared himself the trouble of analyzing their contents: but some invidious remarks on those splendid rewards which his author merited for his services in the cause of religion, and the spirit of rancour displayed by him towards the memory of Mr. Pitt, whose disposition towards Dr. Paley he has either misrepresented, or not understood, call for correction and reprehension—And first, with respect to his refusal of the mastership of Jesus College—‘The whole of his motives for this refusal have never yet been clearly ascertained; nor perhaps were they fully communicated even to his most intimate friends’ (here we agree with the biographer)—‘to one gentleman indeed, he stated a conviction that he should be scarcely able to remain a single month in office’ (meaning probably the vice-chancellorship, which would have followed the other) ‘without quarrelling with Mr. Pitt—Mr. Paley, who was no timeserver, seems to have been unwilling to place himself in a situation in which unworthy compliances might be either expected or required.’—This is a foul libel on the dead and the living—on the minister and on the heads of houses—the first as an haughty tyrant; the second as a set of unprincipled and self-interested slaves. It is neither a duty incumbent on ministers nor men to heap rewards on those who thwart and oppose their measures; but independence and hostility are not convertible terms, and in that station we undertake to say, that a man like Paley, with all his independence of spirit, would have held no such course, as to debar him from preferment. Besides, the surmise is negatived by facts; as it is well known that, about the same time, a man of far less merit, and by principle as well as connexion actively hostile to the court, was promoted by the crown to the mastership of another college, with an express reservation of his party and his principles: and the biographers might have known, that when Paley’s first and best friend heard of the refusal, his observation was, that he had ‘missed a mitre.’

Dull and shallow men are not always fit to be trusted with the loose talk of their betters; and these words, if ever uttered at all, were probably spoken in that careless and jocular manner so peculiar

liar to the speaker, and which was sometimes turned to his disadvantage.

Again—'It had long been a reproach to the chief dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage, though certainly with some honourable exceptions, that so comparatively small a portion of preferment in a very opulent establishment had been bestowed on so deserving a divine. The ministers of the crown had neglected the instructive moralist, and the bench of bishops seemed almost equally inattentive to the theologian who had supplied so new and satisfactory a demonstration of the authenticity of the Epistles of St. Paul. After the publication of the Evidences of Christianity, however, any farther forbearance on the part of the great episcopal patrons was scarcely possible. Whatever subordinate difference of opinion might be supposed to distinguish the creed of Dr. Paley from that of some of his more dignified brethren, his merit as a defender of the Christian Revelation was indisputable and too prominent to be neglected at so critical a time.'

That exalted order are too much accustomed to obloquy to suffer themselves to be scared into acts of bounty; they are not, and they ought not to be, the slaves of popular opinion: but differing as they all did, from some subordinate tenets which Dr. Paley was known or suspected to hold, they maintained a dignified reserve towards him till his general services to the cause of Revelation had overborne every subordinate scruple, and awed even bigotry into silence. Four of the most illustrious prelates of the English church, to one alone of whom perhaps he was personally known, then spontaneously interposed to gild the later days of such a man with the sunshine of their favour, and to enable him to close an active and useful life in ease and opulence.

And this is the reward to which Mr. Meadley thinks the benefactors of his friend entitled! their bounty, as he would have it believed, was drawn forth by a feeling of self-reproach and a consciousness of having neglected transcendent merit: the time was critical, and any farther inattention to the merits of Paley might have endangered the establishment.—It were better even that a man like Paley were neglected, than that 'the chief dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage' should once give way to such a spirit: let the principle of concession to popular opinion but be carried a little farther, and their studies would be filled with libels in the shape of petitions; their houses would be surrounded by mobs clamouring for factious declaimers, and they would be no longer masters of their patronage or themselves. If judgment in selecting be the first qualification of a great patron, fortitude in refusing is the second. Had Dr. Paley thought on these occasions with his biographer, he would have received the bounty of his patrons in sullen silence: nay perhaps have told them that he owed it not to

them but to himself, or at least to the general sense of the nation on his behalf. On the contrary, his expressions of gratitude were public, affectionate and sincere.

These testimonies, however, flattering and valuable as they were, came late: but they contributed to sooth the painful decline of an useful life now drawing rapidly to its termination. That final scene Dr. Paley contemplated with cheerful anticipation, and endured with unaffected composure: the period of self-enjoyment on earth he felt was at an end, he had lived to accomplish a great and beneficial system of instruction for mankind, and he saw nothing in the prospect before him to dismay—nothing indeed which did not animate and cheer him under his temporary sufferings. Thus disposed and prepared, died this great and excellent man, May 25, 1805.

His mind was of a very original cast, and of that universal comprehension which is able to adapt itself to every subject. To a consummate knowledge of his own faculty together with its kindred sciences of morality and rational metaphysics, he added two accomplishments never perhaps united before, (certainly not with the third,) physiology and the law of England. It seemed indifferent to what profession he should originally have applied himself. He would have raised himself to the summit of any one. Yet, though indefatigably industrious, he was not a learned man. He disdained the pedantry of quotation, and never wasted on tedious research into antiquity those precious moments which were better occupied in original observation and reflection. Accordingly no English divine or philosopher has ever attained to the same or to any considerable degree of eminence with so small a portion of what may be called erudition. In this respect he most resembled his master, Locke. His classical learning was that of a school-boy just discharged from a country seminary: of the oriental languages he appears to have known nothing. His citations from the Fathers were made to his hand, but it has never been discovered that in applying and reasoning upon them he mistook their meaning. His biographer admits perhaps too readily and too universally that he had no taste—for poetry indeed he had none. Imagination was not his province, and argument and induction he well knew could best be managed in prose. For the supposed inelegance of his style we are not disposed to admit the apologies of his injudicious friends. The imputation ought to have been denied. It was not inelegant. Traces indeed of his provincial dialect may now and then be detected when he did not intend it; but he frequently used a strong and coarse expression purposely and for the sake of impression. In fact his style was formed on the manner of Johnson, with many of his hard words, but with sentences less involved.

Perspicuity

Perspicuity and force were its leading characters. Perhaps he was the clearest writer in the English language. His luminous conceptions were never encumbered by verbosity, never clouded by ill-chosen and unexpressive phrases. In the construction of periods his ear was good; he sometimes rose with his subject into great majesty of expression, though his ordinary tone was easy and graceful familiarity. With these excellencies it stirs our indignation to hear such apologies as this, in the mawkish and sickening language which the condescending and benevolent apologist, as we suppose, mistook for that elegance denied to Paley.

To those, indeed, who love the exuberance of native character, there is in the writings of Paley, as connected with his personal naïveté, every thing to interest and to gratify. And for those, if such there be, who desiderate in him a higher temperament of sensibility or a finer delicacy of expression, let them learn to take substantial excellence wherever they are happy enough to find it, though it be not quite rectified up to their own exquisite standard of taste.

With so much originality in himself, it is remarkable that in the first conception of his works Paley was not strictly original; nor were even the materials laid in by himself. There are some writers of great but disorderly understandings, unable to arrange, to amplify, or to illustrate their own conceptions. Such was Abraham Tucker, the heavy and desultory author of a book, the principles of which, whether true or false, by his own singular powers of style and illustration, Paley has wrought up into his masterly and inimitable work on Moral and Political Philosophy. The hint of the *Horæ Paulinæ*, perhaps the most cogent and convincing specimen of moral argumentation in the world, was, we believe, first suggested by Doddridge; the *Evidences of Christianity* are professedly a compilation, but so condensed and compacted, so illuminated and enforced, that it is impossible not to admire the matchless powers of the compiler's genius in turning the patient drudgery of Lardner to such account.—Let not, however, these humble labourers in the cause of literature be despised; every man has his gift, and if the hands destined to carve the enrichments of a temple or to adjust its symmetries, had been previously condemned to dig the marble from the quarry, the Parthenon and the Pantheon would probably never have existed. The same character belongs to his last and perhaps his most elaborate work, the *Natural Theology*. Here too Paley had his pioneers, as well as his forerunners; but his inimitable skill in arranging and condensing his matter, his peculiar turn for what may be termed 'animal mechanics,' the aptness and the wit of his illustrations, and occasionally the warmth and the solemnity of his devotion, which, by an happy and becoming process, became more animated as he

drew nearer to the close of life, stamp on this work a character more valuable than originality itself.

In common life Dr. Paley was probably the most acute observer since Swift, but without a tincture of his malevolence. He was constitutionally and incurably cheerful; for pain itself, of which in his later years he was exercised with an abundant portion, could not shake his persuasion of the truth of his own maxim, that 'the present is an happy life.' He delighted in conversation, but in conversation without effort and without display. No man better knew how to expose what is called fine talking, or to laugh out of countenance a kind of semi-nonsense which shallow understandings, gorged with more knowledge than they can digest, are very apt to produce. If he suspected that a plan was laid to exhibit him, he delighted to disappoint it. Though accustomed from his early years to converse much with his superiors of the highest rank in the church, he never thought it worth while to dissemble or to controul his native humour any more than to correct his native dialect in their presence. Though modest and unambitious, he was perfectly independent. He had no art of rising but that of deserving to rise. All his preferments came unsought. He was 'an economist upon principle,' and could therefore always afford to live without asking. The foundations of his great work on morality were laid in the rectitude of his own heart, as well as the clearness of his own head; for besides the most penetrating intuition into cases of conscience, his moral sense was in the highest degree lively and apprehensive.

*Compositum jus fasque animo sanctosque recessus
Mentis et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.*

This last feeling, never bestowed on ordinary men, sometimes occasioned a certain degree of irritation from which minds and tempers of a coarser texture are exempt, and sometimes exposed him to the imputation of heat and violence, particularly in his opposition to the encroachments of a well known peer, and in his occasional rebukes of petty knavery or even stupidity which exercised him as a magistrate.

It is somewhat amusing to observe the embarrassment of modern reformers, and of Mr. Meadley among the rest, in their anxiety to press the name of Paley into their service. Too sagacious not to discover with them the manifold imperfections which adhere to every mode of human society, and too frank and open not to declare them, he had withall a faculty, which they do not possess, that of counting the cost of change. It was not a view to his own interests, but to those of his country, which taught him caution. He was never *practically* theirs; and at the tremendous crisis of

the

the French revolution, his powerful and popular pen was employed in persuading his countrymen, then on the point of a similar explosion, to understand and value the blessings which they already enjoyed.

Still a cloud of suspicion long hung over him, and the prejudices of a great ecclesiastic in particular, are supposed to have obstructed his advancement; but it appears to be unknown to the biographer, (for we do not believe the fact to be injuriously concealed,) that at a later period Dr. Paley was actually proposed for an high station in the church by that great minister who, in this work, has been treated with so much injustice; and that the disappointment proceeded from an higher quarter than before. Homely truths about rulers, uttered in blunt and uncourtly language, are not always, we believe, the first recommendations to high preferment: the peculiarities also of a man of genius render him less *productive*, and the jealousy entertained of overbearing talents, when they have taken a political direction, leaves the way more open to those against whom nothing can be objected, than those for whom much may be urged.

Thus unrewarded by public patronage was the most useful writer of his age. 'Useful,' indeed, in the highest sense is the epithet to be annexed to the name of Paley: for such was his happiness in the choice of subjects, so carefully did he avoid all matters of doubtful disputation, that, with very few exceptions, his works may be read with equal gratification by Christians of all denominations, and with equal advantage by unbelievers of every description.

As a philosopher and a friend (we mean not to exalt his character by the comparison) he had many points of resemblance to Socrates: for, setting aside his physiological knowledge, which the Grecian sage contemned, and the unspeakable advantages of Revelation, of which, in its lowest degree, we can scarcely persuade ourselves that *he* partook; ironical humour, a disposition to instruct by asking questions, a fondness for colloquial pleasures in preference to those of taste, and a keen intuition into common life, equally characterised the English and the Attic moralist. The philosophy of both was common sense, and their study human nature.

In point of utility, however, as living teachers, their spheres of influence were not to be named together;—for who was benefited by the one?—Crito, Simmias, Cebes, and a few other virtuous and sensible men with whom their master's wisdom and his lessons stopped. The mass of the people at least received neither warning nor information. How different from the character of the man who instructed the future instructors of an whole people, and those too both numerous and in succession! Nor, when they are considered as deceased teachers of mankind, can the charms in which the

delightful language of Plato or Xenophon has invested the discourses of Socrates ever conceal the absence of that perfection of good sense, that irresistible cogency of reason, which belongs to the best moderns, and among *them* superlatively to Paley. In one word, whatever may be thought of this comparison by the idolaters of antiquity, and how coldly soever it may be received by strangers or by rivals, the members of his own university, and more especially his surviving friends, will see nothing in it to which their own bosoms do not reverberate—nothing which they will not recognize as a faithful memorial—*αὐδρος, ὡς ἡμῖς φαίμεν αὐτὸν, τὸν τοῖς ὠν ἐπειραζομένῳ ἀρίστῳ καὶ ἀλλὰς φρονιμασίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ.*

ART. IX. *Tracts on Mathematical and Philosophical Subjects; comprising, among numerous important Articles, the Theory of Bridges, with several Plans of recent Improvement. Also, the Result of numerous Experiments on the Force of Gunpowder, with Applications to the modern Practice of Artillery.* By Charles Hutton, LL. D. and F. R. S. &c. late Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. xii. 1254. Lond. Rivingtons, &c. 1812.

DR. Hutton has been long known to the public as a most active and useful writer on mathematical and philosophical topics. He now comes forward at the advanced age of 75, and, by the revision of what he considers as the most valuable of his original pieces, and the addition of some new ones, has formed the present collection, which he seems to regard (though in this we sincerely hope he will be mistaken) as his last legacy to the public.

‘It is,’ he says, with his characteristic simplicity, ‘in all probability, the last original work that I may ever be able to offer to the notice of the public, and I am, therefore, the more anxious that it should be found worthy of their acceptance and regard. To their kind indulgence, indeed, is due whatever success I may have experienced, both as an author and teacher, for more than half a century: and it is no small satisfaction to reflect, that my humble endeavours, during that period, have not been wholly unsuccessful in the diffusion of useful knowledge.’

‘To the same liberal encouragement of the public must likewise be ascribed, in a great measure, the means of the comfortable retirement which I now enjoy, towards the close of a long and laborious life; and for which I have every reason to be truly thankful.’

The tracts before us relate to a great variety of subjects. Some of them have already appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*, or in detached works, but are now greatly modified and improved: and the volumes contain so much that is valuable, and indeed so much

much that is new, that we are inclined to enter somewhat at large into an analysis of their contents.

The first six tracts relate to the theory of arches and piers, and the construction of bridges. Of these, the first is a treatise which made its appearance at Newcastle, in 1772, and was again published in 1801, on occasion of the project of an iron bridge over the Thames. It is now considerably improved. The theory is extended; the practical maxims enlarged; with the addition of the principles of dome-vaulting: so that, altogether, though we are persuaded that much yet remains to be done, we have no hesitation in terming it far the most complete and useful view of the subject which has yet been exhibited in any language. The three next in succession relate to London bridge, and the 5th contains 'Answers to Questions proposed by the Select Committee of Parliament, relative to a proposal for erecting a new Iron Bridge, of a single arch, over the Thames, at London,' 1801. This is followed by a very amusing and instructive history of iron bridges; with neat wood engravings of those at Colebrook Dale, Buildwas, and Bristol, &c. and interspersed with several valuable remarks on the relative advantages and disadvantages of iron and stone bridges.

The 7th, 8th, and 9th Tracts, are on the subject of infinite series. The first of these is principally explanatory, pointing out the different characters of converging, diverging, and neutral series, and showing what may be indicated by the word *sum* of a series, so that the definition shall be free from the difficulties with which it has usually been encumbered.

The second of these exhibits a new and very ingenious method for the valuation of such numeral infinite series as have their terms alternately plus and minus, by taking continual arithmetical means between the successive terms, and again between those means, and so on. This method is applied to the summation of some very slowly converging series, such as $1 - \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{5} -$, &c. . . . $\frac{2}{7} - \frac{3}{8} + \frac{4}{9} - \frac{5}{10} + \frac{6}{11} -$, &c. to the values of which it approximates with comparative expedition.

The third develops a method of summing the series $a + bx + cx^2 + dx^3 + ex^4 +$, &c. when it converges very slowly, which it will do whenever x is nearly equal to 1, and the coefficients a, b, c , &c. decrease very slowly. The method is this. Assume

$$\frac{a^x}{D} = \text{the given series } a + bx + cx^2 + dx^3 +, \text{ \&c. then shall}$$

$$D = \frac{a^x}{a^x}; \text{ which, by actual division is, } = a - bx$$

$$- (c - \frac{b^2}{a})x^2 - (d - \frac{2bc}{a} + \frac{b^3}{a^2})x^3 - (e - \frac{2bd + c^2}{a} + \frac{3b^2c}{a^2})$$

$-\frac{b^4}{a^3})x^4 -$, &c. Consequently a^2 divided by this series will be equal to the series proposed: and this new series will, as Dr. Hutton remarks, be very easily summed in comparison with the original one, because all the coefficients after the second term are evidently very small. The operation may obviously be repeated till the required degree of accuracy is obtained. The method is exemplified by summing the series $x + \frac{1}{2}x^2 + \frac{1}{2}x^3 +$, &c. when $x = \frac{1}{10}$, that is, by finding the hyperbolic logarithm of $\frac{1}{1-x}$.

Tract 10 contains the investigation of some easy and general rules for extracting any root of a given number. Let N denote the given number whose root is sought, n the index of that root, a its nearest rational root, or a^n the nearest rational power to N , whether greater or less, then, according to the most accurate and com-

modious of these theorems, $N^{\frac{1}{n}} = \frac{(n+1)N + (n-1)a^n}{(n-1)N + (n+1)a^n} a$, which includes all the rational formulas investigated separately by Halley and Delagny. This is now a well known form, of easy recollection, and furnishing a most simple and convenient rule for the extraction of roots of any power, and especially of cubes. The only rule which has ever been put in competition with this is that of M. Haros, which is $\sqrt[n]{a^n \pm d} = a \pm \frac{2ad}{2na^n + (n-1)d}$, where $N = a^n \pm d$, or d = the difference between the assumed power and the given number. It is not a little extraordinary that the English admirers of M. Haros' formula should not have discovered that it is no other than the rational formula of Halley published in 1694.

The succeeding tract contains a new method of finding in finite and general terms near values of the roots of equations, such as $x^n - px^{n-1} + qx^{n-2} -$, &c. $= 0$, where the terms are alternately plus and minus. In this method an assumed root being taken $x = a$, we have $x - a = 0$, which being raised to the power whose exponent is n , will give an equation analogous to the one proposed. Then by supposing any two corresponding terms of these equations equal, as the two second terms, or the two third terms, &c. the sum of the remaining terms of the two equations will be equal; whence by the usual reduction of equations, approximate values of x are obtained. By such means our author deduces some very neat formulæ for the solution of cubics and biquadratics. He also shews, that for an equation of the fifth power, we might compare it either with $(x-a)^4 \times (x-b)$, or with $(x-a)^3 \times (x-b)^2$, or with $(x-a)^2 \times (x-b) \times (x-c)$, or with $(x-a)^2 \times (x-b)^2 \times (x-c)$, &c. and so on for higher powers.

Tract

Tract 12 contains a very complete and satisfactory demonstration of the binomial theorem in the case of fractional exponents. Dr. Hutton undertook it in 1785, at the request of Baron Maseres, who proposed that the doctor should, in his investigation, assume, if he pleased, the truth of the binomial and multinomial theorems for integral powers, as truths which had been previously and perfectly proved. This was by far the most perspicuous and decisive which had hitherto appeared:—

‘It is of this nature, that it proves the law of the whole series in a formula of one single term only: thus P, Q, R, denoting any three successive terms of the series, expanded from the given binomial $(1+x)^{\frac{g}{h}}$, and if $\frac{g}{h}P = Q$, then is $\frac{g-n}{h+n}Q = R$, which denotes the general law of the series, being a new mode of proving the law of the coefficients of this celebrated theorem. But, besides this law of the coefficients, the very form of the series is, for the first time, here demonstrated, viz. that the form of the series for the developement of the binomial $(1+x)^{\frac{1}{h}}$, with respect to the exponents, will be $1 + ax + bx^2 + cx^3 + dx^4 +$, &c. a form which had heretofore been assumed without proof.

We have next a tract on the geometrical division of circles and ellipses into any number of parts and in any proposed ratios. The occasion of this paper we shall give in the author's own words, as it furnishes a pleasing specimen of the manner in which he often slides into an eulogium.

‘In the year 1774 was published a pamphlet in octavo, with the title, *A Dissertation on the Geometrical Analysis of the Antients. With a Collection of Theorems and Problems, without Solutions, for the Exercise of Young Students.* This pamphlet was anonymous; it was however well known to myself, and to several other persons, that the author of it was the late Mr. John Lawson, B. D. Rector of Swanscombe in Kent, an ingenious and learned geometrician, and, what is still more estimable, a most worthy and good man; one in whose heart was found no guile, and whose pure integrity, joined to the most amiable simplicity of manners and sweetness of temper, gained him the affection and respect of all who had the happiness to be acquainted with him. His collection of problems in that pamphlet concluded with this singular one, “To divide a circle into any number of parts, which shall be as well equal in area as in circumference. N. B. This may seem a paradox, however it may be effected in a manner strictly geometrical.” The solution of this seeming paradox he reserved to himself, as far as I know; but I fell upon the discovery of it soon after; and my solution was published in an account which I gave of the pamphlet in the Critical Review for 1775, vol. xl. and which the author afterwards informed me was on the same principle as his own.’

To illustrate the general method explained in this tract, suppose
it

it were required to divide a circle into four parts, which shall be respectively equal in area and in circumference. Divide the diameter AB into four equal parts, which let be AC , CD , DE , EB (the diagram may easily be conceived, or drawn): above the diameter describe semicircles whose diameters shall be AC , AD , AE , their peripheries being all in contact at the point A ; and below the same diameter AB , describe semicircles, whose diameters shall be BE , BD , BC , respectively, all in contact by their peripheries at B : then the semicircle on the diameter AC , will join that on the diameter BC , so as to make a waving boundary; in like manner the semicircles on diameters AD , BD , will join; as well as those on AE , BE : and by drawing the figure it will at once be seen that the original circle will thus be divided into four parts equal in area, as well as isoperimetrical; for the areas of the several parts will be as $1+7$, $3+5$, $5+3$, and $7+1$, that is, in a ratio of equality; and the perimeters will each be equal to the circumference of the whole circle.

A similar method is applied by our author to the division of ellipses.

The last problem in Tract 38 may here be mentioned, being 'allied to this as well in its nature as in its fate and consequences.' It is to divide a given circle into any proposed number of equal parts by means of other circles concentric with the given one. The construction, which is very simple and elegant, is by means of one additional circle; while Hawney, in his construction, required a fresh circle for each division. Dr. Hutton gives us an amusing account of the way in which his attention was drawn to this problem by Ferguson, and the delight experienced by that ingenious man (who was no geometer) on proving, by means of a very large figure on pasteboard, the truth of the doctor's construction.

The 15th tract contains an investigation of an approximate geometrical division of the circle. The problem is, 'To find whether there is any such fixed point E , in the radius BD produced, bisecting the semicircle ABC , so that any line $EFFG$, being drawn from it, this line shall always cut the perpendicular radius AD , and the quadrantal arc AB , proportionally in the two points F and G ; viz. so that DF shall be to BG in a constant ratio.' If this could be effected, the inscription of regular polygons in a given circle would be a matter of great simplicity. Dr. Hutton, however, shows that there is no such fixed point E , as that required by the problem: yet he gives an approximation from which he deduces $\frac{1}{3} BD$, as a convenient medium value of DE . But this, we think it right to remark, is, in all cases, too large: the true value of DE , would be, for the trigon 1.73205 , for the pentagon 1.74478 , hexagon 1.73205 , heptagon 1.71903 , octagon 1.70711 , nonagon 1.69654 ,

1·69654, decagon 1·68728, undecagon 1·67916, duodecagon 1·67202. We have not room to explain the mode of computing these numbers; but our mathematical readers may easily verify them by a recurrence to first principles.

Tract 17 is on Machin's quadrature of the circle, published long since in Dr. Hutton's *Mensuration*. Let x denote any arc, then we have for a well known formula $x = \tan. x - \frac{1}{3} \tan.^3 x + \frac{1}{5} \tan.^5 x - \frac{1}{7} \tan.^7 x +$, &c. Let also an arc of a circle whose radius is 1 and tangent $\frac{1}{2}$ be a ; then, by trigonometry, we have

$$\tan. 2a = \frac{2 \tan. a}{1 - \tan.^2 a} = \frac{1}{17}, \text{ and, by a like process, } \tan. 4a = \frac{1}{119}.$$

Let B denote this latter arc, or $\tan. B = \frac{1}{119}$; then will B evidently be greater than 45° , whose tangent is $= 1$; and we shall have for the difference of these arcs,

$$\tan. (B - 45^\circ) = \frac{\tan. B - 1}{1 + \tan. B} = \frac{1}{239} = \tan. A.$$

The arc 45° , or $\frac{1}{2}\pi$, may therefore be regarded as the difference of two arcs B and A , whose tangents are $\frac{1}{119}$ and $\frac{1}{239}$. If we substitute, alternately, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{239}$ for $\tan. x$, in the series above, and quadruple the first result, we shall have the lengths of the arcs $B = 4a$ and A , and consequently their difference, or $\frac{1}{2}\pi$: and thus was obtained Machin's series for the circumference of the circle, viz.

$$\pi = 16 \left(\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{5 \cdot 3} + \frac{1}{5 \cdot 5} - \frac{1}{7 \cdot 5} + \dots \right) - 4 \left(\frac{1}{239} - \frac{1}{3 \cdot 239} + \frac{1}{5 \cdot 239} - \dots \right)$$

In this tract, the doctor points out analogous means of striking out still better series; and in the next tract he gives 'a new and general method of finding simple and quickly converging series; by which the proportion of the diameter of a circle to its circumference may easily be computed to a great many places of figures.' Much, it is evident, from the preceding sketch of Machin's method, depends upon the happy assumption of the numbers which measure the tangents. Dr. Halley employed the arc of 30° , of which the tangent is $\sqrt{\frac{1}{3}}$; and by substituting this in the preceding series for the arc in terms of the tangent, got this series for the semicircumference, viz. $6\sqrt{\frac{1}{3}} \times (1 - \frac{1}{5 \cdot 3} + \frac{1}{5 \cdot 3^2} - \frac{1}{7 \cdot 3^3} + \frac{1}{9 \cdot 3^4} - \dots)$: by means of which Mr. Abraham Sharp computed the circumference to 72 places, Machin to 100, and Delagny to 128 places. Euler again, in his '*Introductio in Analysin Infinitorum*,' finding that $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ are the tangents of two arcs whose sum is just 45° , obtained from thence two very convenient series for the determination of the circumference. Other useful series by Dr. R. Simson may be seen in the appendix to the memoirs of his life and writings, lately published

published by Dr. Trail; others by Mr. Hellins in his essays; and by Mr. Wallace, in a late volume of the Edinburgh Transactions. Dr. Hutton's, however, is a *general* method, which, while it is more universal than those of Machin, Euler, and Simson, includes their series, and at the same time furnishes a great variety of other series of rapid convergency.

The method consists in finding out such small arcs as have for tangents some small and simple vulgar fractions, the radius being denoted by 1, and such also that some multiple of those arcs shall differ from an arc of 45° , the tangent of which is equal to the radius, by other small arcs, which also shall have tangents denoted by other such small and simple vulgar fractions. For it is evident, that if such a small arc can be found, some multiple of which has such a proposed difference from an arc of 45° , then the length of these two small arcs will be easily computed from the general series, because of the smallness and simplicity of their tangents; after which, if the proper multiple of the first arc be increased or diminished by the other arc, the result will be the length of an arc of 45° , or one-eighth of the circumference. And the manner in which I discover such arcs is this:

Let T, t , denote any two arcs, of which T is the greater, and t the less: then it is known that the tangent of the difference of the corresponding arcs is equal to $\frac{T-t}{1+Tt}$. Hence, if t , the tangent of the smaller arc, be successively denoted by each of the simple fractions, $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{5}, \&c.$ the general expression for the tangent of the difference between the arcs will become respectively $\frac{2T-1}{2+T}, \frac{3T-1}{3+T}, \frac{4T-1}{4+T}, \frac{5T-1}{5+T}, \&c.$; so that if T be expounded by any given number, then these expressions will give the tangent of the difference of the arcs in known numbers, according to the values of t , severally assumed respectively. And if, in the first place, T be equal to 1, the tangent of 45° , the foregoing expressions will give the tangent of an arc, which is equal to the difference between that of 45° and the first arc; or that of which the tangent is one of the numbers $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{5}, \&c.$ Then, if the tangent of this difference, just now found, be taken for T , the same expressions will give the tangent of an arc, equal to the difference between that of 45° and the triple of the first arc. And again, taking this last found tangent for T , the same theorem will produce the tangent of an arc equal to the difference between that of 45° and the quadruple of the first arc; and so on, always taking for T the tangent last found, the same expressions will give the tangent of the difference between the arc of 45° and the next greater multiple of the first arc; or that of which the tangent was at first assumed equal to one of the small numbers $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{5}, \&c.$ This operation, being continued till some of the expressions give such a fit, small, and simple fraction as is required, is then at an end; for we have then found two such small tangents as were required, viz. the tangent last found, and the tangent first assumed.

The

The Doctor then proceeds to exemplify this method by a variety of substitutions, and thus obtains a collection of very valuable series, of which, however, we can only extract one or two. Thus, in the case of $t = \frac{1}{2}$, the expression $\frac{4T-1}{4+T}$ gives for the successive tangents $\frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{7}, \frac{1}{9}, -\frac{1}{11},$ &c. of which the third is a convenient number, and gives for A the arc of 45° ,

$$A = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{3} \times (1 - \frac{1}{3.16} + \frac{1}{5.16^2} - \frac{1}{7.16^3} +, \&c.) \\ + \frac{1}{9} \times (1 - \frac{5^2}{3.99^2} + \frac{5^4}{5.99^4} - \frac{5^6}{7.99^6} +, \&c.) \end{array} \right.$$

This is obviously a very compendious series for operation, since 99 is resolvable into the two simple factors 9 and 11.

Another excellent series is the following :

$$A = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{3} \times (1 + \frac{4}{3.10} + \frac{8a}{5.10} + \frac{12\beta}{7.10} +, \&c.) \\ - \frac{1}{30} \times (1 + \frac{4}{3.100} + \frac{8a}{5.100} + \frac{12\beta}{7.100} +, \&c.) \end{array} \right.$$

Where $a, \beta, \gamma, \delta,$ &c. denote always the preceding terms in each series. For other series we refer to the paper itself; which is highly ingenious.

Volume the second contains nine tracts, of which the first, the twenty-sixth in the series, is 'An Account of the Calculations made from the Survey and Measures taken at Mount Shichallin, in order to ascertain the mean Density of the Earth: improved from the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 68, for the year 1778.' This is a truly excellent paper, and the calculations, of which it exhibits the results, were more laborious, and, at the same time, called for more ingenuity than has, we believe, been brought into action in any computation undertaken by a single person since the preparation of logarithmic tables. The survey, and the astronomical observations upon which these calculations were founded, were made partly by the direction and partly under the inspection of Dr. Maskelyne, who explained them pretty fully in the Philosophical Transactions for 1775. In that paper, he adverted to some of the advantages which might accrue from these observations; yet, notwithstanding his well known zeal, diligence, and scientific acquirements, he declined the computations as too laborious. Dr. Hutton, on the solicitation of the council of the Royal Society, undertook the task; and, after the constant labour of nearly a year, laid the results before the society in this paper. It will not be expected that we should enter into a detailed account of his processes; yet, that our readers may form some idea of what he effected, we subjoin a sketch.

In

In the first place, the trigonometrical computations, by which he found the relative altitudes of all the points of the hill, with respect to the assumed stations of the observatories, amounted to several thousands. Then, in order to the determination of the effect of the hill's attraction in the direction of the meridian, the doctor divided the plan, or horizontal section, into a great number of small parts, which he considered as the bases of so many vertical columns, or pillars of matter, as it were basaltine pillars; the attractions of these were computed separately, and the aggregate of the effects taken for the whole attraction of the matter in the hill. In order to simplify the computation, he divided the plan into twenty rings by equidistant concentric circles, described about each observatory as a center; each quadrant was divided into twelve parts, or sectors, by lines forming with the meridian angles whose sines were in arithmetical progression: thus the space in each quadrant was divided into 240 small parts, making 1920 such parts referred to both observatories, that is, 960 to the observatory on each side of the hill. These small parts were quadrilateral figures, of which two sides were similar arcs of concentric circles, and the other two sides right lines converging towards the common center of those circles. The doctor investigated a very simple rule for determining the attraction of each of the pillars that stand upon these quadrilateral bases; and thus, after striking out a variety of ingenious devices, by which columns of the same altitude might be connected, computations might be facilitated by a peculiar kind of sliding rule, results tabulated, &c. he at length arrived at the wished for conclusion. He found that $8811\frac{1}{2}$ is the sum of the opposite attractions of the hill at the two observatories; he also showed that the attraction of a sphere will be expressed by $\frac{2}{3}$ of its circumference, that is, in the case of the earth, by 87522720 or $\frac{2}{3}$ of 131284080 feet.

‘Consequently (says our investigator) the whole attraction of the earth, is to the sum of the two contrary attractions of the hill, as the number 87522720 to $8811\frac{1}{2}$, that is, as 9933 to 1, very nearly, on supposition that the density of the matter in the hill, is equal to the mean density of that in the whole earth.

‘But the astronomer royal found, by his observations, that the sum of the deviations of the plumb line, produced by the two contrary attractions, was 11.6 seconds. Hence then, it is to be inferred, that the attraction of the earth is actually to the sum of the attractions of the hill, nearly as radius to the tangent of 11.6 seconds, that is, as 1 to .000056239, or as 17781 to 1; or as 17804 to 1 nearly, after allowing for the centrifugal force arising from the rotation of the earth about its axis.

‘Having now obtained the two results, namely, that which arises from the actual observations, and that belonging to the computation on the

the supposition of an equal density in the two bodies, the two proportions compared must give the ratio of their densities, which accordingly is that of 17804 to 9933, or 1434 to 800 nearly, or almost as 9 to 5. And so much does the mean density of the earth exceed that of the hill.'

Hence it appears that the real mean density of the earth will become known as soon as that of the hill has been ascertained. In Dr. Hutton's original papers, the assumed density of the hill appears to have been too low, and he thence deduced $4\frac{1}{2}$ for the mean density of the earth, that of water being unity. Professor Playfair, however, furnished him with more correct data as to the nature of the matter of which Shichallin was composed: from these he inferred that the mean density of the hill was about $2\frac{1}{4}$, which multiplied into $\frac{9}{2}$, gives $\frac{9}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4} = 11\frac{1}{4}$ or almost 5 for the mean density of the earth. This result Dr. Hutton published in the *New Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions* in 1808, and it has been completely confirmed by Professor Playfair, in an independent investigation given in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1811.

The 28th is a very comprehensive and useful tract on cubic equations and infinite series, first published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1780. In this the author enters fully into the nature and solution of this class of equations, and shews that when the second term of a cubic is taken away, and it is reduced to the form $x^3 \pm px = \pm q$, the sign of p determines the nature of the roots as to real and imaginary, while the sign of q determines the affections of the roots as to positive and negative: he shews farther that Cardan's rule does not always give the *greatest* root, as has been commonly supposed; and he explains in a very satisfactory manner why it should always exhibit the root of a cubic under the form of an imaginary quantity, where it has *no* imaginary roots, and in no other case. In the second section he develops several methods of assigning the roots of cubic equations by means of series, and thence proceeds to show how the sums of a great variety of curious and useful infinite series may be ascertained by means of their dependance upon certain cubic equations. This paper contains a rich fund of information for all who are interested in this intricate department of algebra.

Of the four succeeding tracts, one contains a project for a new division of the quadrant, adapting the tables of sines, tangents, secants, &c. to equal parts of the radius, instead of to equal parts of the quadrantal arc; and exhibits several useful formulæ to facilitate the computations: the second, on the sections of spheroids and conoids, demonstrates in a much simpler manner than had been previously done by Herman and Pitot, that 'if any solid formed by the rotation of a conic section about its axis, i. e. a spheroid, paraboloid,

paraboloid, or hyperboloid, be cut by a plane in any position, the section will be some conic section, and all the parallel sections will be similar figures of the same name: the third contains some elegant theorems on the comparison of curves; and the fourth exhibits a simple theorem for the cube root of a binomial.

The 33d tract comprizes 'a History of Algebra' much enlarged and improved from the article ALGEBRA in the author's Mathematical Dictionary. The additions relate principally to the algebra of India and Arabia, and to that of the Italians before Lucas de Burgo. In treating of the Indian algebra, our author gives an abridged account of two works called the 'Beej Gunnit' and the 'Leelawuttee' or 'Lilawati,' both written, as it would seem, in the 12th century; and clearly proving that the Indians, from very ancient times, possessed all the knowledge in algebra to be found not only in Diophantus, but in the works of the Italians, &c. previously to the improvements made in the time of Tartalia and Cardan, and that even in a more scientific form. They had also a considerable acquaintance with the theory of series and figurate numbers, a circumstance which is the more remarkable, since it does not appear that the Europeans had made the simplest advances in this branch of analytics before the time of Dr. Wallis, who thought the conversion of the fraction $\frac{1}{1-R}$ into a series by division, sufficient to give honour to the day on which it was effected. Some of the ancients, it is true, as Archimedes* in his treatises on spheroids and conoids, and in that on the parabola, and Pappus in the fourth book of his Mathematical Collections, investigated many curious theorems respecting series of magnitudes varying by an assigned law; but it is next to impossible that their works should have been known to the Indians; and, indeed, the theorems extracted by Dr. Hutton from the Lilawati bear no resemblance to those of the ancient geometers.

In the Beej Gunnit are many ingenious rules for quadratic equations:

'One of the cases is for the equation $ax^2 + bx = c$, and the method given is this: multiply all by $4a$, this gives $4a^2x^2 + 4abx = 4ac$; next add the square of b , this gives $4a^2x^2 + 4abx + b^2 = b^2 + 4ac$; the roots give $2ax + b = \sqrt{(b^2 + 4ac)}$; then $x = \frac{\sqrt{(b^2 + 4ac)} - b}{2a}$, which process, by avoiding fractions, is much easier than our own method in such cases of quadratics.'

The same work also contains observations respecting the double roots in quadratics.

* See pp. 97, 100, of our 3d volume, where an account of Peyrard's Archimedes is given.

'The unknown quantities are represented and called by so many different characters and names, as is our practice also. We denote them usually by the letters x, y, z , &c. the Hindoos by different colours, or letters, or other marks also. Thus,' says our author, 'suppose the first unknown, and the second black, and the third blue, and the fourth yellow, and the fifth red, and the sixth green, and the seventh parti-coloured, and so on, giving whatever names you please to the unknown quantities which you wish to discover; and if, instead of these colours other names are supposed, such as letters and the like, it may be done. For what is required, is to find out the unknown quantities, and the object in giving names is that you may distinguish the things required.'

Several of the processes here given for solving Diophantine problems are very ingenious. The 18th question of Diophantus's 6th book is: Having two numbers given, if one of these drawn into a certain square, and the other subtracted from the product, make a square, it is required to find another square greater than the former which shall do the same.

'In the Beej Gunnit (says Dr. Hutton) this problem is solved very generally and scientifically, by the assistance of another, which was unknown in Europe till the middle of the 17th century, and first applied to questions of this nature by Euler in the middle of the 18th century. With the affirmative sign, the Beej Gunnit rule for finding new values of $ax^2 + b = y^2$, is this: suppose $ag^2 + b = h^2$, a particular case: find m and n such that $an^2 + 1 = m^2$; then is $x = mg + nh$, and $y = mh + ag$.'

In imitation of the method of completing the square in quadratics where the power has a coefficient, they have one of completing the powers in some peculiar cases of cubics and biquadratics.

'Thus, having the cubic equation $x^3 + 12x = 6x^2 + 35$; first, subtracting $6x^2$, gives $x^3 - 6x^2 + 12x = 35$; next, subtracting 8, gives $x^3 - 6x^2 + 12x - 8 = 27$, which completes the binomial cubic, and the roots are $x - 2 = 3$, or $x = 5$. Again, having given the imperfect biquadratic $x^4 - 400x - 2x^2 = 9999$, a case which it is not very obvious how to bring it to a complete power, but which is managed with much address, in this manner. First add $400x + 1$ to both sides, this gives $x^4 - 2x^2 + 1 = 10000 + 400x$, where the first side is a complete square, and the roots are $x^2 - 1 = \sqrt{(10000 + 400x)}$; but as the latter side is not a complete square, the author goes back again, and tries another course; thus, to the original equation he adds $4x^2 + 400x + 1$, which gives $x^4 + 2x^2 + 1 = 4x^2 + 400x + 10000$, two complete squares, the roots of which are $x^2 + 1 = 2x + 100$: again subtract $2x$ and it becomes $x^2 - 2x + 1 = 100$, which are again two complete squares, the roots of which are $x - 1 = 10$, and hence $x = 11$. And this process has some resemblance to that which was afterwards practised, if not imitated, by Lewis Ferrari. It appears, however, that

the Indians had no general method for all equations of these two powers, but only depended on their own ingenuity for artfully managing some particular cases of them; for at the conclusion of the above process the author emphatically adds, "the solution of such questions as these depends on correct judgment, together with the assistance of God."

The Beej Gunnit contains several curious specimens of problems in the application of algebra to geometry, from the solutions to which it is evident that the Indians were well acquainted with the chief properties relating to plane geometry in Euclid's Elements. The 47th problem of the first book is cited under the designation of '*the figure of the bride's chair*,' in reference to the similarity of the diagram employed in the Indian mode of demonstration to a palanquin; and in one of the solutions the author of the Beej Gunnit observes, that '*the sum of the sides is always greater than the hypotenuse, by the ass's proposition*,' from which it would seem, that the Indians as well as the Europeans have their *pons asinorum*.

This interesting account of the Indian algebra is followed by a description of the Arabian algebra, abridged principally from Mr. Davis's account of the '*Khulasat-ul-Hisab*,' written by Baha-ul-din, who died at Isfahan in the year 1653. We have here some curious particulars respecting the Arabian notation, for which, however, we must refer to the work before us. It is obvious from the whole, that the knowledge of mathematics, and of algebra especially, among the Arabians, was much inferior to that possessed by the Indians: they had no algebraic notation, no abbreviating symbols, no acquaintance with the indeterminate or Diophantine analysis, nor with any thing more than the easiest and elementary parts of the science.

Dr. Hutton next traces the history of algebra among the Italians, beginning with Leonard Bonacci, of Pisa, who about 1228 solved quadratics by completing the square, deriving his rules, and even the *double values* in the possible case of the equation $x^2 + n = ax$, from geometrical considerations. The history is carried on with great research, and so as to furnish an excellent treatise on the science, to the end of the 17th century. As far as it goes it may be characterised as elaborate and satisfactory, and we have only to hope that the same masterly hand will, by selecting and classifying the additions and improvements made by Clairaut, Euler, Landen, Bezout, Waring, Lagrange, Lacroix, &c. bring it down to the termination of the 18th century.

We have now arrived at those tracts which, however interesting and important many of the preceding papers may be, will tend principally to stamp upon this work, in the estimation of the scientific world, its peculiar character of value and excellence; namely, those which relate to the theory and practice of gunnery and

and the resistance of fluids. They occupy about 400 pages in the 2d and 3d volumes, and have in part appeared before in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and in the Doctor's quarto tracts, though the greater portion is original. Such of our readers as are at all conversant with the history of mixed mathematics, and especially that branch of it which relates to projectiles, know that the parabolic theory is of no farther use than as it furnishes a set of very elegant constructions and examples for young geometricians; and that, before the time of Robins, no progress, in effect, had been made in the true theory of military projectiles. And even after his valuable work, 'The New Principles of Gunnery,' had been published, and translated with the addition of a profound and elaborate commentary, by Euler, there still remained much to do in order to bring us acquainted with the real nature of the expansive force of gunpowder, the actual velocities of shot at the commencement of their motion or in different points of their path, the laws of the resistance experienced by balls and shells in their motion, and the true nature of the curve they describe. Borda and others had greatly extended the theory, but principally by means of gratuitous, and as is now known, inaccurate assumptions respecting the resistance of the air. In order, therefore, that this important and intricate department of philosophy might receive some essential improvement, it became desirable that a person possessing an active and ardent mind, with habits of regularity and perseverance, should be so circumstanced as to have both the inclination to enter upon this peculiar investigation, and the means of pursuing it: and this, by a happy coincidence, occurred by the late Duke of Richmond (a man of science and of great public spirit) being master-general of the ordnance just at the period when Dr. Hutton was, with all the zeal and activity of the meridian of life, discharging the duties of the mathematical professorship at the Royal Military Academy.

The mathematical sciences are taught at this institution with a view to their application to military purposes, and particularly to the practice of artillery: and Dr. Hutton was not likely to rest satisfied with affecting to teach, what, in truth, there were no data for teaching properly. He knew that if the doctrine of projectiles were ever to be so exalted as to become an integral part of mathematical science, it must rest upon the basis of well conducted experiment. He therefore began a series so early as the year 1775; and afterward carried on a far more extensive one, under the auspices of the Duke of Richmond (and officially under the direction of General Sir Thomas Blomfield) during the summers of 1783 and of many succeeding years.

The 34th tract contains a minute account of the experiments of every day, with a register of the weather, wind, thermometer, &c. For this we must refer to the tract itself, as well as for a description of the ballistic pendulum and other machinery employed in these experiments. Our limits will barely allow us to quote a few of the most important deductions.

‘ And first, it is made evident by the experiments in 1775, that powder fires almost *instantaneously*, seeing that nearly the whole of the charge fires, though the time be much diminished.

‘ (2.) The velocities communicated to shot of the same weight, with different quantities of powder, are nearly in the subduplicate ratio of those quantities. A very small variation, in defect, taking place when the quantities of powder become great.

‘ (3.) And when shot of different weights are fired with the same quantity of powder, the velocities communicated to them, are nearly in the reciprocal subduplicate ratio of their weights.

‘ (4.) So that, universally, shot which are of different weights, and impelled by the firing of different quantities of powder, acquire velocities which are directly as the square roots of the quantities of powder, and inversely as the square roots of the weights of the shot, nearly.

‘ (5.) It would therefore be a great improvement in artillery, to make use of shot of a long form, or of heavier matter; for thus the momentum of a shot, when fired with the same weight of powder, would be increased in the ratio of the square root of the weight of the shot.

‘ (6.) It would also be an improvement, to diminish the windage: for, by so doing, one third or more of the quantity of powder might be saved.

‘ (7.) When the improvements mentioned in the last two articles are considered as both taking place, it is evident that about half the quantity of powder might be saved, which is a very considerable object. But, important as this saving may be, it seems to be still exceeded by that of the guns: for thus a small gun may be made to have the effect and execution of one of two or three times the weight of its natural ball, or round shot: and thus a small ship might discharge shot as heavy as those of the greatest now made use of.’

Such were the information, and the probable advantages, derivable from the experiments in 1775: they led to the invention of carronades, a species of ordnance which, by means of large balls, and very small windage, produce considerable effects with small charges of powder.

In the description of his second course of experiments, which is carried on after the manner of a journal, occurs one of those touches of goodness and simplicity which we have had frequent occasions to admire in the course of our proceeding.

‘ August 31, 1785. I took out with me, and employed the first class of gentlemen cadets belonging to the Royal Military Academy, namely,

namely, Messrs. Bartlett, Rowley, De Butts, Bryce, W. Fenwick, Pilkington, Edridge, and Watkins, who have gone through the science of fluxions, and have applied it to several important considerations in natural philosophy. Those gentlemen I have voluntarily offered and undertaken to introduce to the practice of these experiments, with the application of the theory of them, which they have before studied under my care. For, though it be not my academy duty, I am desirous of doing this for their benefit, and as much as possible to assist the eager and diligent studies of so learned and amiable a class of young gentlemen; who, as well as the whole body of students now in the upper academy, form the best set of young men I ever knew in my life; nay, I did not think it even possible, in our state of society in this country, for such a number of gentlemen to exist together in the constant daily habits of so much regularity and good manners; their behaviour being indeed perfectly exemplary, such as would do honour to the purest and most perfect state of society that ever existed in the world: and I have no hesitation in predicting the great honour and future services, which will doubtless be rendered to the state by such eminent instances of virtue and abilities.'

Many of the results of this extensive series of experiments, are extremely important: but we must content ourselves with a very concise summary. After observing that they confirm the deductions from the former course, Dr. Hutton proceeds—

'It farther appears also, that the velocity of the ball increases with the increase of charge only to a certain point, which is peculiar to each gun, where it is greatest; and that by farther increasing the charge, the velocity gradually *diminishes*, till the bore is quite full of powder. That this charge for the greatest velocity is greater as the gun is longer, but yet not greater in so high a proportion as the length of the gun is; so that the part of the bore filled with powder, bears a less proportion to the whole bore in the long guns, than it does in the shorter ones; the part which is filled being indeed nearly in the inverse ratio of the square root of the empty part.

'It appears too, that the velocity, with equal charges, always increases as the gun is longer; though the increase in velocity is but very small in comparison with the increase in length; the velocities being in a ratio somewhat less than that of the square roots of the length of the bore, but greater than that of the cube roots of the same, and is indeed nearly in the middle ratio between the two.

'It appears, again, from the table of ranges, that the range increases in a much lower ratio than the velocity, the gun and elevation being the same. And when this is compared with the proportion of the velocity and length of the gun in the last paragraph, it is evident that we gain *extremely little* in the range by a *great* increase in the length of the gun, with the same charge of powder. In fact, the range is nearly as the 5th root of the length of the bore; which is so small an increase, as to amount only to about a 7th part more range for a double length of

gun. From the same table it also appears, that the time of the ball's flight is nearly as the range; the gun and elevation being the same.

It has been found, by these experiments, that no difference is caused in the velocity, or the range, by varying the weight of the gun, nor by the use of wads, nor by different degrees of ramming, nor by firing the charge of powder in different parts of it. But that a very great difference in the velocity arises from a small degree in the windage: indeed with the usual established windage only, viz. about $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the calibre, no less than between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the powder escapes and is lost: and as the balls are often smaller than the regulated size, it frequently happens that *half* the powder is lost by unnecessary windage.

It appears too, that the resisting force of wood, to balls fired into it, is not constant: and that the depths penetrated by balls, with different velocities or charges, are nearly as the *logarithms* of the charges, instead of being as the charges themselves, or, which is the same thing, as the square of the velocity.—Lastly, these and most other experiments, show, that balls are greatly deflected from the direction in which they are projected: and that frequently as much as 300 or 400 yards in a range of a mile, or almost $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the range.

Tract 36th describes a series of extensive and well-conducted experiments upon Robins's whirling machine, to determine the resistance of the air. These, together with those made by firing balls from artillery, constitute a complete and connected series of resistances to balls, from the slow velocities of 5 or 10 feet per second, to the rapid velocities of 1900 and 2000 feet. It appears from an examination of the results, that though the resistances are nearly as the squares of the velocities in very slow motions, they are never exactly so. The exponent of the velocity indicating the resistance *always* exceeds 2. At 200 feet per second that exponent is 2.028: at 500 feet it is 2.042: at 1000 feet it is 2.115: from thence it keeps gradually increasing up, to the velocity of 1500 or 1600 feet per second, where the exponent is 2.153: and from this velocity the exponent gradually diminishes, being 2.156 at the velocity of 2000 feet, the limit of the experiments.

That the resistance should not be accurately as the square of the velocity, must be evident to every one who attentively reflects upon the subject. But Dr. Hutton has gone farther, and at pp. 221, 222 of the third volume, has very satisfactorily developed the causes of the variable exponent in the ratio of the resistance. He has also investigated three or four theorems for the resistance of balls; of which the following appears to be both accurate and convenient in use. Let v be the velocity in feet with which a ball, whose diameter is d feet, moves in air near the earth's surface, then will the resistance in avoirdupois pounds be expressed by the formula $(.000007565 v^3 - .00175 v) d^2$.

Dr.

Dr. Hutton, having deduced the law of resistances to spherical bodies moving in the air, proceeds in a series of important problems in Tract 37 to apply it to the determination of the most essential particulars in the motion of military projectiles. Here many of the solutions are both elegant and satisfactory. But the grand problem by which the actual trajectory of the projectile may be determined still remains unsolved, and must do until some philosopher possessing an adequate portion of Dr. Hutton's science and zeal, shall be so favourably circumstanced as to carry through another set of experiments with a special regard to that object. We shall terminate our quotations, by transcribing our author's new approximate rule to find the elevation of a gun to hit an object at a given distance.

Let D denote the given distance of the object in feet; d the diameter of the ball in inches, obtained from the table of weights and diameters in problem 10; b the weight of the ball, and c that of the charge of powder, both in pounds; $V = 1600 \sqrt{\frac{q c}{b}}$ the projectile velocity, as given in problem 13; v , the last velocity with which the ball strikes the object; and t the time of the ball's flight. Then

Divide D by 1338 d , considering the quotient $\frac{D}{1338 a}$ as a log.

Take $N =$ the natural number of the log. $\frac{D}{1338 d}$

Take $v = \frac{V-q}{N} + q$ the final velocity: q being = 231.

And $t = \frac{1338 d}{q} + \log. \text{ of } \left(\frac{V-q}{v-q} \cdot \frac{v}{V} \right)$ by problem 11.

Or $t = \frac{q D}{V + v}$, an approximation near enough.

Then, $16 t^2 = \frac{64 D^2}{(V + v)^2}$ is the height above the object to be pointed.

Or $\frac{16 t^2}{D} = \frac{64 D}{(V + v)^2}$ is the tangent of the angle of elevation.

So that, the height of the mark to be pointed at, above the object, is nearly as the square of the distance, and the angle of elevation simply as the distance, the projectile velocity being the same. But, in the case of different velocities, the height and the angle will be reciprocally as the square of the velocity nearly.

It will be recollected that our author gives the above merely as an approximation. We have been at the pains to apply it to the results of a great many accurate experiments by Dr. Hutton and others; and find that if the angle of elevation obtained by these theorems be diminished by its *fifteenth* part, it will then agree very nearly with the actual practice of artillery.

The

The 38th and last tract in this collection contains 94 miscellaneous practical problems, illustrating many of the principles in the preceding part of the work. But of these we dare not, after looking back on what we have written, say more than that the solutions are ingenious and accurate; with the exception of the second, which relates to the effects of pile engines, and appears to need revision.

Dr. Hutton has long been the most popular of all our mathematical writers, and the perusal of these volumes has convinced us, that there are obvious reasons for this popularity, which promises to be as permanent as it is extensive. He seems to have a constitutional, if not a conscientious, aversion from the pedantry and parade of science. He never, by affecting to be abstruse, becomes obscure: nor does he ever slide into digressions, for the purpose of shewing how much he knows of other things besides the topic of discussion. Hence he is at once concise and perspicuous. He manifestly rather writes to be useful than to obtain celebrity. He is also perpetually aiming at improvements in every thing which he has undertaken. Whoever has occasion to compare the successive editions of his '*Course of Mathematics*,' will find that the work was not abandoned to its fate as soon as its fame was established; but that it has been constantly modified wherever it was susceptible of improvement. Nor was this merely a habit of the prime of life: for, on comparing the solutions now given to some problems on his favourite subject of projectiles, with those which had previously been inserted in the third volume of the *Course* composed by Dr. Hutton in conjunction with Dr. Gregory, it will be seen that his mind has, in this respect, lost nothing of its vigilance, energy, and perspicacity.

ART. X. *The Life of John Knox, containing Illustrations of the History of the Reformation in Scotland, with Biographical Notices of the principal Reformers, and Sketches of the Progress of Literature in Scotland, during a great Part of the Sixteenth Century.* By Thomas McCrie, Minister of the Gospel. Edinburgh.

KNOX was one of those characters, who from their spirit and genius, the impetuosity of their tempers, and the eventful times in which they lived, are rarely spoken of, even at a distant period, without extravagant panegyric or unqualified obloquy. This is peculiarly the lot of those who have signalized themselves as the leaders in religious commotions. The object is momentous, and

and the passions are agitated in proportion. On one side are arranged self-interest, ancient prejudice, possession, prescription, authority; on the other the most animated and animating of human principles, conscience newly awakened, a sense of usurpation newly acquired, disdain of fetters which are beginning to fall off, and the pleasure of defying those whom men have been accustomed to reverence. Hence in every cause and on every scale, from the petty but cannibal feuds of Egyptian fanatics to the mighty contests of the League and of the Crusaders, religious warfare has been conducted with a rancour peculiar to itself. But, as the weapons of this warfare are the tongue and the pen, as well as the sword, as the passions are thoroughly inflamed, and possessed of all the powers of giving vent to them which exasperated eloquence bestows, who can wonder that, during the heat of the contest, and even after it has ceased to be felt, otherwise than in its effects, the characters of the great leaders of either party continue to be distorted by panegyric and detraction;—who can wonder that the cool impartiality of later historians finds no small occupation in removing the varnish or washing away the stains, or that acuteness the most penetrating and inquiry the most impartial sometimes fail in detecting so many misrepresentations? It is strange, however, that, at the distance of no more than two centuries and a half, with abundant materials, and after the elaborate investigations of many ingenious men, it should still be controverted whether the Regent Murray were a tyrant or a patriot, an hypocrite or a saint, or even whether Knox himself were a furious and ambitious demagogue, the enemy of every thing elegant and sacred, or an intrepid and disinterested champion of truth and liberty.

To determine points of so much importance to the church of which Knox was the founder and Murray the 'nursing father,' the present biographer has applied himself with a zeal and devotion, which, if they do not always serve the cause of truth, give a glow and an interest to the whole work, rarely communicated to biography, when it did not breathe the spirit of personal friendship or domestic affection. But in treating this subject, a fatality seems to hang over its Scottish and even its English advocates. Passion and prejudice when applied to the History of the Reformation in Scotland, seem to be immortal, and the respective partizans enter upon their task with all the interest of agents, indeed of principals, in the story which they discuss. Some, and those in other respects of good understandings, seem to have been perfectly demented: all power of examining or comprehending evidence appears to have fled before the vehemence of their feelings, and the little argument which they have been able to produce is suffocated beneath a load of passionate declamation and personal abuse.

The

The feelings and the prejudices of Dr. M'Crie are more chastized, and always under the command of a clear and strong understanding. A thorough Presbyterian in his religious principles, and a determined Whig in his politics, the colouring of his picture is always aggravated; the lights are heightened and the shades darkened by the prepossessions of his church and of his country: the outline, however, is not distorted. He is a warm, but an honest man. He is a Scotchman, but a friend of truth. With great powers of expression, as well as considerable heat of temper, he never descends to railing. He detests the church of Rome; he loves not the church of England; but he exposes the enormities of the former with fidelity and force, though not with malignity, and he censures what he conceives to be imperfect in the reformation of the latter, with an effect which would have been lessened by indecent invective. A vein of sarcastic wit alone now and then betrays him, as it did his master, into undue asperity as well as levity of expression.

These offences, however prompted by national prepossessions, however restrained by decorum, we scruple not to confess, would have been visited on the head of a dull or a shallow man with greater severity: for we too have our attachments, and even our prejudices; we love the constitution, we love the order and decency of the church of England; we prefer the beauties of our own liturgy to the best extemporaneous effusions of the wisest of the Scottish doctors: we see no connection between sordidness and devotion, nor should we have expected from a man of Dr. M'Crie's enlarged understanding so much of the spirit of old 'Mass John,' such indignation against a surplice or a rochet, things which, with our countrymen, not only have ceased to give offence, but have the great body of popular opinion in their favour. Still, however, to talents like his much will always be forgiven; and such are the merits of the work almost in every other particular, that we feel ourselves disposed, as far as justice will permit, to be blind or dumb to a single fault.

Dr. M'Crie is really a great biographer, such as it has not been the lot of Knox's equals, or even his superiors, always to attain: for, however ably the characters of Luther and Calvin have been treated in the general histories of their times, where has either of them found a biographer like the present? The *Life of Erasmus*, an animating subject and worthy of a man of genius, if any such there be within the compass of modern literature, has been frigidly written by Knight, and confusedly by Jortin; nay even in our present Number we have an instance of a most original and strongly marked contemporary and countryman of our own, consigned to prejudices

prejudices greater than those of Dr. M'Crie, prejudices chilled by mediocrity to which he is a stranger, while they are not redeemed by one of his excellences.

Compact and vigorous, often coarse but never affected, without tumour, and without verbosity, we can scarcely forbear to wonder by what effort of taste and discrimination the style of Dr. M'Crie has been preserved so nearly unpolluted by the disgusting and circumlocutory nonsense of his contemporaries. Here is no puling about the 'interesting sufferer,' 'the patient saint,' 'the angelic preacher.' Knox is plain Knox, in acting and in suffering always an hero, and his story is told as an hero would wish that it should be told, with simplicity, precision, and force. Dr. M'Crie's materials are both ample and original: since beside an intimate acquaintance with the best authors who were contemporary with his subject, and the MS. authorities which the records of the church of Scotland afford, he has fortunately possessed himself of an early transcript of the reformer's letters, glowing throughout with the same ardent feeling of devotion, and the same unconquerable spirit of liberty, which animated his discourses from the pulpit. To these materials the author has brought a power of combining and enlivening them peculiar to himself. He has many points of resemblance to his subject: a fortitude of mind which on subjects exploded and derided dares to look modern prejudices in the face; a natural and happy eloquence, with a power of discussion on subjects of casuistry and of politics not inferior to that of the great leader in the reformation of Scotland, though restrained by a decorum of expression to which the reformer's age, as well as himself, were strangers. To these qualifications are to be added the same stern renunciation of all taste and elegant feeling, where they appear to stand in the way of duty, and the same tendency to coarse (or what would now be called illiberal) humour on subjects where it is not altogether becoming. Like Knox himself he has neither a tear nor a sigh for Mary, and we doubt not that like him he would have voted to bring the royal adulteress and murderer, for such they both esteem her, to the block. In Dr. M'Crie the brutal merriment displayed by Knox on the assassination of Beatoun excites no indignation, and the old definition of such sanctified and systematic murders, 'the execution of righteous judgment by private hands,' would probably be accepted without reluctance.

In a work so pregnant with original argument and reflection almost every page affords matter for animadversion: but we shall content ourselves with detaching from the text a few of the most prominent passages, and commenting upon them *en passant*.

'Writers unfriendly to our reformer have endeavoured to fix an accusation

accusation upon him respecting the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. Some have ignorantly asserted that he was one of the conspirators, others better informed have argued that he made himself accessory to their crime by taking shelter among them. With more plausibility others have appealed to his writings as a proof that he vindicated the deed of the conspirators as laudable, or at least innocent. I know that some of Knox's vindicators have denied this charge, and maintained that he justified it only in as far as it was the work of God, or a just retribution in Providence for the crimes of which the Cardinal had been guilty, without approving the conduct of those who were the instruments of punishing him. The just judgment of Heaven is, I confess, the chief thing to which he directs the attention of his reader; at the same time I think no one, who carefully reads what he has written on this subject, can doubt that he justified the action of the conspirators. The truth is, he held the opinion that persons, who by the commission of flagrant crimes had forfeited their lives according to the law of God and the just laws of society, such as notorious tyrants and murderers, might warrantably be put to death by private individuals, provided all redress in the ordinary course of justice was rendered impossible in consequence of the offenders having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive rulers. This was an opinion of the same kind with that of tyrannicide held by so many of the ancients and defended by Buchanan in his dialogue *De jure regni apud Scotos*. It is a principle, I confess, dangerous in its application, extremely liable to be abused by factious, fanatical, and desperate men, as a pretext for perpetrating the most nefarious deeds. It would be unjust, however, on this account to confound it with the principle, which, by giving to individuals a liberty to revenge their own quarrels, legitimates assassination, a practice too common in that age. I may add, that there have been instances of persons, not invested with public authority, executing punishment upon flagitious offenders, as to which we may scruple to load the memory of the actors with an aggravated charge of murder, though we cannot approve of their conduct.

Every thing in this passage is according to the ancient spirit of our author's country, as it existed under an ill-regulated and unsettled state of society, when the sovereign scrupled not to remove an obnoxious subject without law, and the subject, with as little formality, retorted the same unlicensed and pernicious vengeance on his sovereign. 'But whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,' is a dictum of the Great Legislator to which Knox and his biographer bowed and bow with equal reverence, and the application of it has in ordinary cases been confined by all but an inconsiderable and fanatical sect of christians, who have narrowed the restriction still more, to the shedding of blood in defensive war, and to the right of the magistrate to use that sword, which we are assured he beareth not in vain, for the extermination

extermination of incorrigible offenders. We say in *ordinary cases*—for here we willingly lay out of the account, the right in mixed and well balanced governments which resides in one or more branches of the legislature to control, even by force, the enormities and usurpation of the rest. But the question is now, how far private individuals have a right, in any case of injustice or oppression, to inflict upon delinquent and tyrannical governors that vengeance which, from the very nature of the case, is unattainable by course of law. And here, for the good of society, we are compelled to affirm, that the whole argument upon which this supposed right is constructed, vacillates on every side.

With respect to tyrannicide:—not to remark on the indecent and inconsistent eagerness with which Knox and Buchanan could set up the examples of heathen antiquity against the Christian Scriptures, when the former made for their favourite doctrine, and the latter were either silent or prohibitory; the two cases have no analogy to each other. The instance directly in question is the assassination of Beatoun. The tyrants of Greece were bold, bad men, who had subverted the ancient legitimate governments of their respective cities, and in maintenance of their usurped power shed the blood of their fellow-citizens, not only without but against all lawful authority. Beatoun was indeed a profligate and a brutal man, but it would be hard to prove him a murderer even of Wishart, unless every judge who executes the laws with unrelenting rigour be entitled to that denomination. Let it be remembered that he was an ecclesiastical magistrate, regularly empowered to administer a system of jurisprudence, (a bad and cruel system we admit, but still a system,) by which heretics were consigned to a most painful death. As the law then stood, Wishart came fairly within that definition. He had publicly arraigned the doctrines of the established church, broken her order, despised her discipline, preached in private houses, and administered the communion without authority in places unconsecrated, and after a form of his own. For these offences, the primate of the kingdom apprehended, tried, and burnt him. Now here, if there were any murder, the law was the murderer and not the judge. Beatoun, infamous as he was, did what, according to the principles of the age, a good man might have esteemed it his duty to do. Nor does this in any degree lessen the merit of Wishart. He appears to have devoted himself cheerfully to the cause of truth, and he probably had the sagacity to foresee the blessed consequences of so magnanimous a conduct. But admitting the criminality of Beatoun, and at the same time allowing his situation to have been inaccessible to the ordinary forms of justice, even on the lax principle of expediency
itself,

itself, were it not better for society, that an illustrious and overgrown offender should escape with impunity, than that private individuals, even if not parties, should be permitted to assume to themselves the summary execution of whatever they may please to call justice? For if this principle were once admitted as an exception to the ordinary administration of the law, what judge would be found to execute the office entrusted to him with vigour and decision, when, after carrying into effect a sentence of death pronounced by him, the friends of the deceased would have but to pronounce the execution a murder and the judge a tyrant, after which he would become of course an object of legitimate revenge?

Dr. M'Crie is extremely anxious, though he does not wholly approve the conduct of Beatoun's murderers, to discriminate between such cases and private assassination.* 'It would,' says he, 'be unjust on this account, to confound it with the principle, which, by giving to individuals a liberty to revenge their own quarrels, legitimates assassination.' Were then these men, one of whom Knox indeed calls a man of 'nature most gentle and modest,' actuated by pure and disinterested love of religion, liberty, and justice? Were they or were they not the personal friends of Wishart: and had that martyr been less amiable, had his sufferings left a regret less pungent in the hearts of these very men, would the general 'principle' have operated with such instant and decisive effect to the destruction of his destroyer? Is a man then a cooler and more competent judge of the wrongs inflicted on a beloved friend, recently deprived of life by an iniquitous sentence, than of his own? For the honour of human nature, we think otherwise—but for this very reason, he is no more to be entrusted with the execution of vengeance in the one case than in the other. Strange indeed it is that these men who, on every other occasion, had the bible in their hands and its precepts in their mouths, should have forgotten this one confounding text—'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves!'

But in the next place, admitting what cannot be denied, that the death of Beatoun was a benefit to his country—that it prevented, in all probability, a long course of bloodshed and cruelty, and that by one decisive stroke, it removed the great impediment to reformation—what was the commission these men had to shew for undertaking the work?—their own *opinion*, on this hypothesis, as their

* In a note he glances obliquely at the murder of Sharp, as a case admitting of considerable palliation. He probably classes it with that of Beatoun—and so do we: though we think very differently from our author as to the nature of both cases. But Sharp was an apostate as well as a persecutor, while Beatoun, though more atrocious, was more consistent in his cruelties.

own *passions* on the other. They were no branch of the legislature—they were not soldiers authorized in open war to kill and slay—they were not magistrates empowered to bring offenders to justice; and had they been the last, which for them perhaps is the most favourable supposition, where was the arraignment, the proof, the defence, the sentence? all transacted in a few minutes, with drawn swords, in the chamber of a trembling victim. In short, the only plea was that which is expressly condemned by their own scriptures, ‘that of doing evil that good may come.’

The concluding sentence of this paragraph is equally exceptionable with the rest—‘There have been instances of persons not invested with public authority executing punishment upon flagitious offenders, as to which we may scruple to load the memory of the actors with an aggravated charge of murder, although we cannot approve of their conduct.’ Dr. M'Crie's conception of this case is in the highest degree inaccurate and perplexed. For the fact being supposed, and also that it was committed with deliberation, the question is no longer, whether it be murder, manslaughter, or justifiable homicide, but whether it be murder or a meritorious act of justice. In other words, the ‘actors must either be loaded with the aggravated charge of murder,’ or their conduct must be wholly approved. There is no medium. In short, through the whole of this most obnoxious paragraph, there is a tendency, unperceived, we sincerely believe, by the author himself, and to which he has been betrayed by his absurd partiality for the hero of the cause of reformation in his country, to invert the charge of murder, by transferring it from the voluntary and unauthorized avengers of their slaughtered friends, to the judge who, with whatever circumstances of cruelty, acted under the authority of existing laws which he was regularly commissioned to execute.

The circumstances of the times, and an alarming symptom of depravation which has lately taken place in the English character, have compelled us to take up this subject with more than ordinary seriousness. Assassination has become dreadfully frequent among us: the diffusion of unprincipled publications among the lower ranks has also produced a generation of shallow and pernicious reasoners, who, either before or after the commission of such atrocious acts, may be served at a very cheap rate with drugs to lull their consciences asleep, by putting ‘bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter.’ The atrocious assassin of Mr. Percival was a reasoner upon these principles. Far be it from us to impute to a man like Dr. M'Crie any purpose of fostering principles so detestable; but as he seems not to have been aware of the tendency

of his own positions, it became our duty to the public to point them out.

One word more on this subject and we have done. What Knox thought of Beatoun's death, his own indecent and brutal narrative of the manner of it too clearly proves. We would now ask Dr. McCrie whether his own ideas of a faithful minister allow him to justify the conduct of his hero on this occasion? If they do not, he was in duty bound to express himself with his usual clearness and decision on a point of such importance.

Knox entered the castle of St. Andrews soon after the assassination, and was called to the office of preacher. What then, we ask, was the condition of that company of whose consciences he had taken the direction? 'They had killed and also taken possession.' Their course began in bloodshed, continued in robbery, and ended in rebellion. Not content with dispatching the object of their hatred, they had displaced his servants, seized his goods, devoured his provisions, and turned his artillery against a force lawfully commissioned to reduce them. Under these circumstances, to what subjects did the young and zealous preacher betake himself, and on what topics did he principally insist—on the four kingdoms of Daniel, and the antichristian character of the Pope! Had Knox then not acquired the honesty or the boldness for which he became afterwards so famous? The preacher who so liberally applied the character of Jezebel to that of Mary, could he find no resemblance of Ahab in his own friends and companions? But he approved the slaughter. So it appears, and so much the worse for him. On what principles, however, of morality could he approve what followed—Necessity—that is, a necessity created by guilt? On the whole, we should have honoured the fairness of Dr. McCrie as a biographer quite as much, if, in the midst of his declamations against the Catholics at this time, he had for once done them the justice to acknowledge their lenity to those conspirators in granting them the terms they did; in not insisting that the actual perpetrators of Beatoun's murder at least should be given up to public justice, that they might be consigned to the gibbet instead of the gallies. This is a tone and language which, in speaking of such a work, we should not have wished to assume; but the author and the times compel us to adopt it.

Such then were the instruments, very exceptionable, it ought to have been acknowledged, in themselves, which were nevertheless permitted by Providence to give the first blow in Scotland to a superstition at once the most cruel and degrading, which, under the name or semblance of Christianity, had ever darkened the understandings or enslaved the consciences of men.

The

The next step in this great work we can contemplate with approbation. The aristocracy of that country, consisting of the nobility and lesser barons, had so long been accustomed to controul by force the enormities of their sovereigns, that their interference on great occasions may be regarded as constitutional. Accordingly, when a great and respectable portion (perhaps the majority) of this powerful body modestly demanded for themselves liberty of conscience and worship, and were refused; when for the same end alone, they next took arms, resolving to act upon the defensive; when they endeavoured by successive treaties to secure to themselves these great and inalienable rights; and when, upon disarming again, they found every engagement violated and every concession revoked, they had recourse to a step less violent than had often been practised towards their sovereigns in person, we mean the suspension of the queen regent; and by degrees, with the voice of the nation on their side, in a peaceable and legislative manner, laid the foundation of that useful, moderate, and respectable establishment, which exists among their posterity to this day. This, if any could be, was justifiable resistance; resistance without rebellion—an interference not of a few fanatical individuals, to revenge themselves on an obnoxious judge, but of a great order in the state, embodied and armed for the purposes of securing to their country what no laws or institutions can justly take away, the rights of conscience.

In relating the triumphant progress of this revolution, we are far from being offended by the exulting tone which our biographer assumes: all that is dear to him in civil or religious polity was at stake; it was moreover the most illustrious period of his hero's life, and greater surely can no private man appear, than when by his talents, his spirit, and his eloquence, he is wielding, as inferior instruments, half the rank and power of his country in order to subvert an ancient and mischievous superstition, and to build on its basis a noble temple of truth and liberty.

But of the literal subversion of many noble buildings, which, perhaps unavoidably, took place in the course of this great revolution, Dr. McCrie permits himself to speak with a savage and sarcastic triumph, which evinces how zealous and practical an helper he would himself have proved in the work of destruction, had he been born in the 16th century. Less, we are persuaded, would then have been heard of Rowe or Willock as auxiliaries of Knox, than of McCrie. On the wailings of modern taste, when directed to this fashionable topic of invective, he has no compassion: nay, he most provokingly taunts the poor antiquaries with their obligations to Knox for having produced so many fine subjects

jects for the pencil and the graver. This is really more than can be borne: we must interpose to rescue from such ruffian hands an innocent and persecuted fraternity; and lest some poor artist, with pallet and pencil, should undertake a pilgrimage, in consequence of this ironical encouragement, to Perth and Scoon, the first scene of these outrages, or to St. Andrews, which was the second, we are in duty bound to inform him, that instead of picturesque and beautiful remains he will not find a vestige of those magnificent edifices which once adorned the former, and at the latter, one vast fragment alone will instruct him not what but where was once the metropolitan church of Scotland. It was to the subsequent dereliction of the edifices which Knox had spared, that almost every object of the pencil in that country is owing.

We are next to contemplate Knox actively employed in settling the infant church, a work in which he met with no small obstruction, in consequence of the arrival of the young queen, filled with all the prejudices of popery, and educated in all the licence of a voluptuous court. The poverty of the country which she came to govern; the intractable spirit of the people, the sour and inflexible humour of the reformers, all conspired to fill her with disgust against a situation and a religion so little resembling those which she had left behind. In his conversations with this princess, Knox seems to have copied the tone of the Jewish prophets, when reprehending by divine commission their idolatrous sovereigns. Nor was he much less formidable: for though unable like them to command the elements and to call down vengeance from above, he had at his command an exasperated people, to whom he was not backward in appealing against the mandates of his sovereign. The precipitancy, the profligacy, and we fear too, the unnatural cruelty of Mary herself, afforded to the cause of Reformation advantages which its best friends could neither have foreseen nor hoped, and by one of those astonishing interpositions which baffle all human calculation, the great and devoted patroness of the old religion became one of the most powerful means of establishing the new one.

Presbytery being now established in Scotland, we must be indulged (we are led to it by some curious and original information of our author) in some reflexions on the peculiar fitness of such an establishment for that country, and on the characters of its first champions compared with those who followed them, in another great national struggle, about a century later.

Presbytery, which, like a certain language,

‘ is found
‘ To flourish most in barren ground,’

first

first sprung up among the rocks of Switzerland, and quickly found a congenial soil and climate when transplanted to the banks of the Tay and the Forth. Naturally allied to a republic, its maxims are in perpetual hostility with monarchic government. Its pretensions are higher than those of the primitive church under the first Christian emperors : it admits of no interference of civil authority with its own discipline; it claims, on the contrary, an unlimited right of discussing the conduct of civil governors in the pulpit. These principles, together with the vacillating politics of James the Sixth, and the unskilfully rigid attachment of his son to episcopacy, sufficiently account for all the contests between the kirk and the crown from the days of Knox to those of the covenant. But, during this interval, though principles remained the same, a new and far inferior race of men had sprung up to support them. Till very lately we have been accustomed to consider the first instruments of the reformation in Scotland as semibarbarians, men of strong minds indeed, great warmth and honesty, and of a powerful and awakening eloquence. The latter qualities, it is true, they enjoyed in perfection; but it is proved by Dr. McCrie that they were also accomplished and elegant scholars. It has been elsewhere observed that nations sometimes attain to great perfection in the ornamental arts before they have learned those which minister to common convenience; and thus, at a period when the common people of Scotland were a barefooted rabble, with scarcely a chimney to their houses, robbing, plundering, and destroying each other with little restraint from law, and almost universal protection from their chiefs; there arose a race of scholars, who, in the midst of filth and smoke and poverty and an unsettled government, resolutely sacrificed to the Muses and the Graces of antiquity, till they had learned to compose in the Latin language with an ease and elegance unknown since the days of Augustus. To prove this singular fact we have only to quote Dr. McCrie's well attested account of the family of John Rowe.

'The Grammar school of Perth was the most celebrated in the kingdom, and the noblemen and gentlemen were accustomed to send their children there (thither) for their education. Many of these were boarded with Mr. Rowe, who instructed them in Greek and Hebrew. As nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in the school and in the fields, so nothing was spoken in Mr. Rowe's house, but French. The passages of Scripture read in the family before and after meals, if in the Old Testament, were read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English. If in the New Testament, they were read in Greek. His son John, when he was between four and five years old, was taught the Hebrew characters, and at night he read the Hebrew chapter in the family.'

All this however might have been done, and many learned men might

might have issued from this excellent seminary without a tincture of those classical graces which really adorned them, had not nature led the way by instilling into their minds unusual portions of taste and genius. At the period of the covenant, whatever remained of these qualities, whether natural or acquired, in Scotland, had gone over to the episcopal clergy. In fact, it was these qualities which upheld episcopacy for a season against prejudices which would otherwise have been invincible.

But to return—the eloquence of Knox and his associates, which wrought such wonders in its day, was of a very singular composition. The matter of it came warm from the heart, in a cause which absorbed every faculty of the speaker; but the manner was caught partly from the solemn denunciations of the ancient prophets, and partly from the energetic and animating tone of the free orators of antiquity. Of the meek spirit of the Gospel it certainly partook in a very slender degree. That temper was ill suited to the work in hand. But of the eloquence of this period it must at least be acknowledged, that it was natural and manly, without cant and without fanaticism; formed by men of vigour and good taste, upon excellent models, and calculated alike (which is the highest character of eloquence) for the few and the many.—In less than a century this spirit was fled from the kirk of Scotland; and Henderson, Gillespie, and their brethren of the covenant, bore no more resemblance to Knox, Willock, and Rowe, than, at this day, do the cold and feeble successors of Watts and Doddridge, to those animated and excellent preachers. In fact these men were at once without spirit and without sobriety, meddling and hot-headed, fanatical and dull. This lamentable declension, besides a great prostration of native genius, is to be accounted for from the poverty and meanness of their education. They knew little of antiquity—they were not learned in the original languages of scripture; but they had drawn their information, such as it was, from narrow Calvinistic systems of theology, which had by that time begun to swarm upon the continent, and which, as they fostered their native bigotry and bitterness, damped every warm feeling of genius, and crippled every movement of free and excursive intellect. Yet, strange to say, these men wielded the great machine of popular opinion with no less power than Knox: for the truth was, that the taste of preachers and of people was then become equally depraved—the nonsense of the one suited the nonsense of the other—they had an appetite for cant, and they were fed with it to the full.

Classical taste meanwhile sought refuge in another quarter and another cause, until Pitcairn, the last Latin poet in Scotland, bewailed in strains not unworthy of Buchanan the lost fortunes of the
House

House of Stuart. A late attempt to restore this faculty, has but contributed to revive and perpetuate the national disgrace. The Muses of Greece and Rome have fled, as it would seem, before the predominating genius of physiology and political œconomy.

By the enthusiasm of his admirers Knox has been seriously invested with prophetic powers. On this delicate subject, equally afraid to deny and unwilling to concede, his biographer speaks in the following cautious and discriminating language.

‘There are, however, several of his sayings, which cannot be vindicated upon these principles,’ (general probabilities and the warnings of Scripture,) ‘and which he himself rested upon different grounds. Of this kind were, the assurance, which he expressed from the beginning of the Scottish troubles, that the cause of the congregation would ultimately prevail,’ (in which, after all, native sagacity and a sanguine temper might have a great share,) ‘his confident hope of again preaching in his native country and at St. Andrews, avowed by him during his imprisonment on board the French galleys, and frequently repeated during his exile, with the intimations which he gave respecting the death of Thomas Maitland and Kirkcaldy of Grange. It cannot be denied, that his contemporaries considered these as proceeding from a prophetic spirit, and have attested that they received an exact accomplishment. The most *easy* way of getting rid of this delicate question is, by dismissing it at once, and summarily pronouncing that all pretensions to extraordinary premonition, ought without examination to be discarded as fanciful and visionary. But I doubt much, if this method of determining the question would be doing justice to the subject. Est periculum (ne) aut neglectis his, impiâ fraude, aut susceptis, anili superstitione, obligeamur. On the one hand, the disposition which mankind discover to pry into the secrets of futurity, has always been accompanied with much credulity and superstition; and it cannot be denied that the age in which our reformer lived, was prone to credit the marvellous, especially as to the infliction of divine judgments upon individuals. On the other hand, there is great danger of running into scepticism, and of laying down general principles which may lead us ultimately to contest the truth of the best authenticated facts. This is an extreme to which the present age inclines. That there have been instances of persons having presentiments and premonitions as to events which happened (should happen) to themselves and others, there is, I think, the best reason to believe. The canon of our faith is contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; we must not look to impressions, or new revelations, as the rule of our duty; but that God may, on particular occasions, forewarn persons of some things which shall happen, to testify his approbation of them, to encourage them to confide in him in particular circumstances, is not, I think, inconsistent with the principles of either natural or revealed religion. Some of the reformers were men of singular piety; they were exposed to uncommon opposition, and had uncommon services to perform; they were endued with extraordinary gifts; and *I am inclined to believe* were occasionally favoured with premonitions

with respect to events which concerned themselves, other individuals, or the church in general.'

Whatever may be thought of a fact so controverted even among wise and good men, it is impossible not to honour the fortitude of one who, in spite of the intolerant and persecuting spirit of incredulity which prevails at present, dares to avow the probability of it and to support it by an argument at once so rational and so unfashionable. With regard to the argument itself, though it may be easy to deride, it is impossible to confute it: for if 'no one can refute a sneer,' it must also be remembered, that a sneer can refute nothing.

The History of the Reformation in Scotland, with the exception of one book, has been irrefragably proved by our author to be the work of Knox: an undertaking in which Dr. M'Crie seems to have been aware that truth alone was indebted to him; for he speaks with no disrelish of the broad and coarse buffoonery with which it requires no fastidiousness of taste to be disgusted, and which can now no longer be imputed to some unknown and impertinent interpolator.

Many of Dr. M'Crie's readers have probably conceived of this 'son of thunder' as of a large athletic man, able in that age of 'apostolic blows and knocks' to have proved the orthodoxy of his doctrine by the sword as well as 'by tongue and lively voice.' On the contrary, he was a man of slender frame and feeble constitution, (Beza says *corpore pusillo*,) literally worn out by labours at one period of his life, and by sufferings at another. But *cujusque mens, is est quisque*, and Knox might be said to be all soul and spirit. He was one of those rare and gifted men upon whom the moral and religious destinies of nations are made to depend, and like the two other heroes of the Reformation, Calvin and Luther, was sent into the world with energies, which, in ordinary times, and when mighty energies were not wanted to subvert mighty abuses, would have been mischievous in their strength. In Knox and Calvin there seems to have been a perfect harmony of principles and temper. Luther, besides the strange erratic course which he held on the subject of concomitancy in the sacrament, had a tincture of enthusiasm from which both the others were exempt. All agreed in the predestinarian doctrine, and in that of justification by faith; but more strikingly in an indignant spirit of opposition to existing abuses, in a disregard of worldly rank and power, in a constitutional intrepidity not to be awed, and a pertinacity never to be wearied. Yet what topics are so fashionable, with those who have no other scale of character than the tame mediocrity of settled times, as the rigour and obstinacy of these great reformers? And yet what is plainer than that the workmen were merely suited to their work? Popery

was not a pile to be battered down by popguns. Its foundations were deeply laid in ancient power, in terrible cruelty, in universal ignorance. From the want of such powerful engines, how many pious spirits had long deplored its corruptions, and wounded their own consciences by partaking of its plagues! How many penetrating understandings had long seen and derided the great imposture, yet seen and derided in secret; either awed by its terrors or bribed by its emoluments! Courage therefore not to be appalled, and integrity not to be corrupted, must be combined with piety and acuteness to constitute a first reformer; and all these qualifications met in this incomparable triumvirate, and, in their perfection, in them alone.

Thus much then for the *subject* of this vigorous and original work. With respect to the style, it is natural and forcible, free from all modern affectation, excepting the abominable verb 'narrate', which must absolutely be proscribed in all good writing. It abounds indeed with Scotticisms, for which we like it the better. They are the *επιχαρισμοί* of a work so thoroughly national. For, why should a Scotsman, who is ashamed of nothing else belonging to his country, be ashamed of its dialect? It is to English what the Doric was to pure Greek, adorned with many rustic graces which have long been felt and acknowledged in the poetry of that country. Why then should it not be tolerated in history, especially since experience has shewn that no efforts of their best writers have been able wholly to avoid it? With respect to the typography of the quotations, we were disposed to invoke the shade of William Bowyer: they have been committed to an illiterate compositor, and never, as appears, revised by the learned author. The Latin is almost unintelligible, and in a Greek epigram of four lines, there are three errata. This mechanical defect we should not have mentioned had such a work been likely to rest in a first or second edition.

We now take leave of Dr. M'Crie with sincere esteem and goodwill, notwithstanding some important points of difference which a little more candour and courtesy to a sister church, not deficient in those regards to his own establishment, might have prevented.

ART. XI. *Voyages and Travels in various Parts of the World, during the Years 1803, 4, 5, 6 and 7.* By G. H. Von Langsdorff, Aulic Counsellor to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, &c. London. 1813.

HOWEVER gratifying to us it might be to know that our critical labours make their way to the most distant corners of the globe, the pleasure derived from that circumstance would be considerably

considerably abated by any well grounded complaint of severe or unmerited censure. We are not indeed now to learn how difficult it is for the best natured critic to satisfy the expectations of the least aspiring author; but we confess ourselves not to have been quite prepared for the serious remonstrance which Captain (now Admiral) Krusenstern has transmitted from St. Petersburg. This officer, it seems, has taken offence at our remarks on the two volumes of his voyage round the world, printed at Berlin, and a copy of which we took some pains to procure. In his letter, he expresses 'much surprize at the spirit of animosity against Russia which pervades the whole of the Review.' This at once astonishes and mortifies us; for to what does it amount? Merely to an observation, which every one knows to be true, that the reign of Catharine was a reign of projects; and that the Japanese embassy sent by Alexander was only following up the views of his august predecessor. Whether this embassy was grafted on the original plan of the voyage, or the voyage was undertaken to carry out the ambassador, is, in our estimation, a matter of very small importance;* in neither case do we see, any more than the author, 'that Russia had made herself ridiculous.' If Admiral Krusenstern will give himself the trouble to read over the 3d Article of our 9th Number, written when at war with Russia, and the 11th Article of the 16th Number, drawn up since the return of friendly relations, he will see in both a consistency of opinion, and a spirit which breathes any thing but 'animosity against Russia.'

But a charge of a more serious nature is brought against us—that of attacking 'in one instance, at least, his moral character.' The instance, it seems, is this. Lieutenant Chwostoff, who visited the coast of Jesso subsequent to the departure of Captain Krusenstern, was told by the Japanese that a revolution actually took place in Jeddo on account of the dismissal of the Russian embassy. Our observation on this passage was, that 'we did not expect the sober good sense of Captain Krusenstern would have led him to give publicity to so idle a tale;' and we added, 'the idea is too absurd to deserve a moment's attention; unless indeed it was intended to flatter Count Romanzoff.' That the Count, like other courtiers, is open to this mode of address, is by no means improbable; nor is there any thing very extravagant in the supposition that the narrative of a voyage should be made as palatable to him that planned it, as truth would allow; we must therefore repeat our surprize that Captain Krusenstern does

* Admiral Krusenstern says in his letter, 'The embassy to Japan was engrafted upon the original plan of the voyage.' We said, 'The project of a new embassy was easily grafted on the present voyage.' Where do we differ? yet this passage has given offence.

not see the absurdity of this story. He would be the first to smile, at being told that the governor of the Crimea, in sending away a Turkish minister, by order of his court, had occasioned a rebellion in Petersburg, and a revolution in the whole government of Russia. Most willingly would we gratify this gentleman—but, on re-perusing our former Article, we can honestly and conscientiously assure him that we find nothing to alter, and that we are at a loss for terms to 'introduce him more fairly to the English public' than we have already done in our concluding sentence, which, to please him, we shall repeat—'We cannot take leave of Captain Krusenstern without expressing the satisfaction which we have derived from the perusal of his very clear and intelligent account of a Voyage round the World, conducted apparently with great good temper, discretion and judgment, and related in a style of modesty and candour which cannot fail to secure the approbation of the most fastidious.' But the English reader has now obtained the fullest and fairest introduction to his acquaintance through the medium of a translation, which, we have little doubt, will find a place among every collection of voyages and travels, and afford in the perusal both amusement and information.

We now turn to the account of the same voyage written by a fellow traveller, who accompanied the ambassador in the capacity of naturalist. This work may be considered to bear pretty nearly the same relation to the authentic and original account of the voyage, that Forster's did to that of Captain Cook. To the general reader it will probably be more amusing than Captain Krusenstern's, because it is less grave, and, with the exception of a storm or two, without which a voyage would be nothing, divested of all nautical matters. Doctor Langsdorff is a German of a far more lively cast than most of his philosophic countrymen, whose ponderous labours we are occasionally doomed to encounter; he even attempts to be witty, and occasionally manifests a disposition to be waggish. At St. Catharine's, he slyly insinuates, when in the act of being rubbed down by a negro slave, that 'if he could but have prevailed on the fair daughter of his host to press the muscles with her delicate hands,' the pleasure would have been equal to that of animal magnetism—a pleasure which, not having ourselves experienced it, we pretend not to estimate. His colouring too of the naked beauties of Nukahiva is far more warm and glowing than we had expected to encounter from the pencil of a phlegmatic German. Their 'comic effusions' and 'pantomimic gestures,' too expressive to be mistaken, while swimming and playing about the ship 'like a troop of Tritons,' he found to be utterly 'indescribable,' but they were such as to make 'a novel impression' on the doctor's feelings.

feelings. These damsels, it seems, who were so frolicsome in the water, affected considerable distress at appearing on the ship's deck in a state of primitive simplicity; and 'they crept about,' says the doctor, 'with their hands in the position of the Medicean Venus, in attitudes which presented a beautiful spectacle to the philosophic observer.' Unfortunately, however, this 'beautiful spectacle' was evanescent; and the doctor very feelingly laments that he was not allowed 'a sufficient time for making philosophical observations on the new Venusses,' who suddenly disappeared with the sailors, hand in hand, into the interior of the ship. They were equally provoking the following morning; for they no sooner peeped upon deck than they plunged into the sea, to the visible mortification of Doctor Langsdorff.

These 'Venusses,' however, by no means answered the expectations which he had formed of them from the descriptions of former voyagers; and he even thinks that Captain Krusenstern has greatly overrated their beauty. 'I must confess,' he observes, 'that in my opinion, both the form and countenance of a well made negress are more pleasing and interesting than those of the women of these islands. We certainly found in Nukahiwa an Apollo of Belvidere; but it may be as certainly made a question whether a nice observer would not sooner find the original of the Medicean Venus upon the coast of Africa than in the South Sea.'

Without detaining our readers with even a sketch of the manners, laws, &c. of these islanders, from Doctor Langsdorff's book, which have again and again been described by former visitors, and which wear but a thin shade of difference from those of other savage nations, we shall content ourselves with the notice of one custom, which, to us at least, is perfectly novel—that of joining noses by way of salutation. 'When two friends meet,' says the doctor, 'they press the points of their noses together; this stands with them in the place of a kiss, to the sweet sensation of which they seem entire strangers.' Perhaps also their dexterity in catching rats by the hand, and 'feeding their swine with them,' may be something new; but we really cannot discover the force of the doctor's logical conjecture that, because there are plenty of rats and no tame cats to eat them, there must be wild cats in the woods: there may be no necessity for cats either wild or tame, where pigs are so ready to perform their functions.

We cannot in decency entirely pass over the chapter in which the doctor exhibits many profound and 'philosophical speculations on anthropophagism. Happy for 'pauvre Jean Jacques' that he did not live to peruse these unholy 'speculations' on the deep depravity of the 'simple children of nature!' How rude a shock must his morbid sensibility have sustained on hearing that,

in

in savage life, there is no such thing as love between the sexes, affection between parents and children, or attachment between friends; that man is the most selfish of all animals, and the more so, the farther he is removed from a state of civilization; that, in short, his appetites are so depraved, that it is an incontrovertible truth, that all nations of the world have, at one period or other, been in the habit of eating one another! As the doctor considers this to be a 'matter of sufficient importance to be investigated somewhat minutely,' he summons to his aid a manuscript of Père Loureiro, (the author of the *Flora Cochinchinensis*,) and a treatise written by the 'ingenious Professor Meiners of Gottingen, *De Anthropophagia et diversis ejus Causis*.'

Our notice of the speculations of this learned triumvirate must be brief. They assign four causes for indulging the appetite which men feel for eating one another. The first is a tolerably substantial one—the want of other food. There happened, it seems, at some time or other, a great scarcity in India, so great indeed, that some hundred thousands of persons died of hunger. The survivors, not being of sufficient numbers or strength to bury their deceased friends, came to the resolution of eating them: but mark what followed! they continued to feast so long on their friends that they acquired a taste for human food, and ever after used to way-lay one another for the sake of enjoying so delicious a treat. 'Among others, a person who lived in a forest, upon the side of a mountain, contrived a sling which he threw round the necks of passengers and drew them into the forest, where he satiated his appetite upon them.' Nay, an old woman acquired such an unconquerable taste for young children, that none of the brats in the neighbourhood were safe out of their houses;—'what she could not eat fresh, she salted and kept for future eating.' It is added, that 'the flesh of young women and girls, and particularly of new born ones, far exceeds in delicacy that of the finest youths or grown men;' that the inside of the hand and the sole of the foot are real titbits; and, what alarms us not a little, that Englishmen are higher flavoured than Frenchmen. The doctor concludes this part of his interesting subject with a grave and suitable admonition against the immorality of indulging an appetite 'of even eating a corpse in times of the greatest scarcity,' lest we should acquire a taste, like the Nukabiwas, 'for killing and eating our wives and children.'

'The second motive,' says the doctor, 'for anthropophagism is the unruly and inordinate desires to which man is too prone to give way.' Under this head we have examples of the Mexicans and Tahuyas, of the Jaygas and Anzigos, 'of the Hibernians, whom we commonly call Irishmen,' and, as related by 'Cælius Rhodig'nus,

ginus, of their neighbours the Scotch;—in fine, ‘of all our forefathers’ being anthropophagists; many of whom, it seems, not content with feasting on their enemies, ‘killed and eat their own countrymen, first feeding them well, and even giving them dainties, that their flesh might be the more delicate and finely flavoured; it was then publicly sold in the market.’ We were not aware that our savage forefathers were such epicures.

The third motive assigned by the Doctor, and which we agree with him is a ‘most extraordinary one,’ is the pretence of humanity! This profound proposition is illustrated by examples drawn from the Massagetæ, Essidonians, and many others of whom our readers may not be very anxious to know the names, who all ate their relations out of pure kindness, and then boasted that they had buried them in their own entrails. ‘It may be made a question,’ says the Doctor, ‘whether our German saying of *eating any body through love* may not have arisen from a tradition referring to those antient times, since it is certain that our forefathers, equally with the above-mentioned tribes, followed this custom.’

The fourth and last reason for anthropophagism is ‘hatred, contempt, and a thirst of revenge.’ Thus, the loyal subjects of the king of Cochinchina ate their rebel brethren, whose flesh, however, they found some difficulty in swallowing, unless when seasoned with lemon sauce. ‘Our German expression,’ says the Doctor, ‘*to be blood-thirsty*, comes perhaps from the time when our forefathers, out of revenge, literally assuaged their thirst with the blood of their enemies instead of grapes.’—But more than enough of the ‘philosophical speculations’ of the Portuguese Jesuit, the Gottingen professor, and the Russian aulic counsellor. We shall merely observe that the Tauas, or priests, of Nukahiwa, when wishing to regale themselves with human flesh, have an awkward custom of *dreaming* that they should like to taste of such a man, or such a woman, when search is immediately made, and the first person that comes in the way, answering the description, is killed and eaten.

Happily for the doctor and his companions these Tauas were kind enough not to dream of a Russian relish, by way of variety; they therefore arrived safely at Owhyhee, whose natives had passed that stage of human civilization in which men delight in feasting on one another. But as they neither liked the appearance of the people, nor the high prices demanded for the refreshments of which they had to dispose, they resolved to proceed on their voyage, and made sail without holding much communication with them. The inhabitants of the Sandwich islands are, in fact, as the doctor afterwards discovered, advancing with rapid

rapid strides from barbarism to civilization. They enjoy a fine climate, and a soil of tolerable fertility; they are conveniently situated for ships bound to the north-west coast of America, the Aleutian islands, and Kamschatka; they have many secure bays and harbours; plenty of wood and water, and refreshments of all kinds in abundance. Most of the American ships, whether in their voyage round Cape Horn to the north-west coast of America, to collect furs for the China market, or from the South Sea whale fishery, touch at the Sandwich islands. This frequent intercourse has furnished the means of instruction to the natives in the knowledge of many of the comforts and advantages of a civilized state of society: it has taught them the value of property, and the convenience of money as the representative of property. Many of the American seamen have settled on these islands, and connected themselves with the native females. Under their instruction, the people have been taught to build ships, and to become good seamen. In the year 1806, Doctor Langsdorff tells us that the chief, Tomoomah, had a fleet of no less than fifteen ships, composed of three masted vessels, brigs, and cutters.* He agreed with the Russian American Company to send a ship every year with hogs, salt, batatas, and other provisions for the use of their settlement, and to take in return sea-otter skins, which he meant to send to China on speculation, an intercourse which the doctor says he has since learned has actually commenced, and that the Russian Company had even purchased a cutter from him. The king himself is said to be an excellent shipbuilder, and to pay unremitting attention to that art. Having merely to imitate, the natives of this little group of islands may, under a succession of chiefs possessing ability and energy equal to those of Tomoomah, constitute a happy and polished society long before the expiration of the present century: 'they have taken a leap,' as Turnbull observed in 1802, 'into civilization.'

The silence of Captain Krusenstern respecting the objects of the embassy, and the nature of the negotiations carried on at Nangasaki between the ambassador and the Japanese *interpreters*, (for they seem to have had but little intercourse with persons of a higher description,) is, in some measure, compensated by the communicativeness of Doctor Langsdorff. We observe, indeed, in the letter of Captain Krusenstern, to which we have alluded, an expression which will account for his silence. 'If,' says he, 'the political conduct of the ambassador had been more circumspect, the result

* Turnbull says, that in 1802 he had upwards of twenty vessels of different sizes, from twenty-five to seventy tons; some of them copper-bottomed. It was Captain Vancouver who laid the keel of Tamahama's first vessel in 1794.

of the embassy would, in all probability, have been of a more pleasing nature.' It now appears, that instead of resisting the unreasonable and humiliating requisitions of the Japanese, he was at first all compliance, and then all complaint. On the first visit of some inferior officers of the governor of Nangasaki, they refused to go on board the Russian ship, 'till the ambassador, the captain and some of the officers, came out to welcome them.' Mr. Resanoff did indeed resist a demand so insolent and derogatory to his character, but offered to send 'some of his cavaliers;' this however being rejected by the 'great men' of Japan, he condescended to meet them himself on the forecastle. He moreover put them in possession of his instructions, and gave them a copy of the letter from the Emperor Alexander to the Emperor of Japan. He consented to have the guns, ammunition, muskets, and arms of every kind taken out of the ship. He acquiesced in the Nadeshta being surrounded by guard boats; he submitted to be kept on board, a prisoner in his own ship, for several months, and suffered himself to be cajoled from day to day by the most frivolous and childish excuses. When a request was made to take the ship into the inner harbour, he was told that a ship bearing a great personage like him, could not possibly be permitted to mix with Dutch trading vessels; and he was satisfied with their explanation that so great a man as himself must be received with preparations suitable to his rank and dignity; and when at length he ventured to send a message to the governor to say that 'his patience and forbearance had reached their height, and that he insisted on knowing why he had been kept waiting so long, and put off from month to month with empty promises,' he was pacified by being told, as a profound secret, that a council had been assembled at Jeddo to consult on the expediency of establishing a commercial intercourse with Russia, and that this was the sole cause of the delay;—two days after this, the very same man had the impudence to invent a totally different excuse for it.

It is quite amusing to read the manner in which the Japanese interpreters managed their masters' business, and to learn with what barefaced impudence they contrived and succeeded in administering consolation to their prisoner. One of these fellows, who united all the qualifications of the three comforters of Job in his own person, very gravely assured him that they felt how unbecoming the treatment was which he had met with from the great men of Japan; but added that it was their custom, and that 'a reasonable man must know how to accommodate himself to all situations and circumstances, like water which takes the form and figure of every vessel into which it is poured.' Another, when
ha

he uttered his complaints, and talked of demanding his dismissal, said that they (the interpreters) comprehended these things perfectly, but that patience was a great virtue. 'It is laughable,' said he, 'that Japan, this little country, this little island, makes so much ceremony, and contrives so many difficulties; that in all her manners, even in her ways of thinking, she is little: while Russia, which is a very extensive country, is, in all her ways and manners, in all her thoughts and actions, great and noble.'

This civil piece of irony was, in fact, prompted by the ambassador, who, in exhibiting his maps and charts of the world, took great pains to impress on the Japanese, the magnitude of the Russian territory compared with that of Japan, all which had been faithfully reported at Nangasaki, and treasured up at Jeddo to be made use of at a proper occasion. The second audience furnished that occasion. One of the points mentioned in the Emperor of Russia's letter, was the desire he felt of establishing an intercourse of friendship and commerce with the Emperor of Japan; on which it was observed to the ambassador that 'friendship is like a chain which, when destined to some particular end, must consist of a determined number of links. If one member, however, be particularly strong, and the others disproportionately weak, the latter must, of necessity, be soon broken. The chain of friendship can never, therefore, be otherwise than disadvantageous to the weak members included in it.' In the same strain the interpreter proceeded to state with great solemnity that the mighty monarch of Russia had sent an ambassador with a number of costly presents. 'If they are accepted, the Emperor of Japan must, according to the custom of the country, send an ambassador with presents of equal value to the Emperor of Russia. But as there is strict prohibition against either the inhabitants or the ships quitting the country, and Japan is besides so poor, that it is impossible to return presents to any thing like an equivalent, it is wholly out of the Emperor's power to receive either the ambassador or the presents.'

It seems to be the policy of this wary government to humiliate and mortify, for the purpose of wearing out the patience, and thus more easily getting rid, of strangers. One of the first operations of this kind, by way of giving the Russians a taste of the mode in which Europeans are treated, was to bring the gentlemen of the Dutch factory along side the Nadeshda, and, after letting them wait a couple of hours in the boat, to ask permission for them to come on board. As Mynheer Doeff, the chief of the factory, was advancing to pay his respects to the ambassador, one of the interpreters caught him by the arm, and reminded him that he must first

make his compliment to the *great men*; on which Mynheer Doeff immediately bent his body into a right angle, and with his arms dangling to the ground, remained in that posture a considerable length of time, when turning himself half round, he whispered to the interpreter, *Kan ik wederom opstaan?* May I now stand upright? The same compliment was again required on their departure, when a Baron Pabst, who had visited Japan out of curiosity, disgusted with such humiliating conduct, stole out of the cabin; one of the vigilant interpreters, however, perceiving it, called after him, 'Aha, Mynheer Pabst, you must not go away until you have paid your compliments to the *great men*!'

The Russians were not allowed to purchase the minutest trifle, not even provisions, which the Japanese supplied them with in daily rations. One day, however, they were left without their allowance, and on complaining of this neglect, the interpreter very coolly told them that 'Prince Tchingodsi had arrived in the morning, and it was necessary to prepare for his reception:'—but even this excuse, insulting as it was, turned out to be a falsehood. In short, their whole conduct is so precisely formed on that of their prototype the Chinese, that we deem it unnecessary to follow Doctor Langsdorff through his details of the grievances of which he justly complains.

The ambassador did indeed resist the demand made upon him to kneel to the governor and the *great man* dispatched from Jeddo, but as they would neither suffer him to sit on a chair nor stand upright, 'he consented to lie down with his feet stretched out sideways.' The most remarkable thing was, that the fronts of all the houses, in all the streets through which they passed, were covered with hangings of cloth or straw mats, 'so that,' says the doctor, 'we could see nothing of the houses or the people, nor could they see any thing of us: here and there only we saw a head, urged by irresistible curiosity, peeping from behind the hangings;' and the reason assigned was, 'that the common people might be kept off, since they were not worthy to see so *great a man* as the Russian ambassador face to face.'

In their voyage to the northward, along the coast of Saghalien or Tchoka, we have nothing in the doctor's account of it that can interest or instruct. His volume terminates with their arrival at Kamtschatka, whence he proceeded over land to St. Petersburg. The picture drawn by Captain Krusenstern of this distant Russian settlement is a very gloomy one. All its bays are forlorn and forsaken; the shores strewed with stinking fish, cast up by the sea, and the only inhabitants, troops of half starved dogs wallowing among them and fighting for the unsavoury morsel. Even
the

the beautiful harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul is unenlivened by a single boat.

It is in vain that you look round, on landing, for even one well built house: in vain does the eye seek a road, or even a beaten path, along which a person may walk in safety to the town: no garden, no plantation, no inclosure of any kind, indicative of the least cultivation. A few huts, mostly in a decayed state; five or six cows feeding in the vicinity of the houses, and innumerable dogs lying about in holes which they dig as a shelter against the flies, rendering it, if not impossible, at least extremely dangerous, to walk after dark, are the only objects at St. Peter and St. Paul.

Such is the miserable condition of the principal seat of a settlement formed more than a hundred years ago. But the government has been more in fault than the climate or the soil. A journey to Kamtschatka was a sort of punishment for military officers whose conduct had not been strictly correct. This marked degradation had rarely the effect of amending the conduct of those who were condemned to suffer it. Separated from his friends and from civilized society, with very little hope of returning to either—disgusted with the world, and dissatisfied with himself—now become the petty tyrant of a country of savages—he descended, by no imperceptible steps, to the condition nearly of those over whom he was placed. The usual resource of a person thus circumstanced, whose mind was, perhaps, originally not too well stored with knowledge, was that of drinking spirituous liquors; and it is a fact mentioned by Krusenstern, that almost the only cargoes for which merchants have met with a ready and certain market, are those of this destructive beverage. That wretched system is, however, now changed, and instead of men being driven by disgrace and despair to become savages, they are encouraged to make savages become men.—The progress, however, is likely to be slow; and the absence of any rival power in the neighbourhood is not calculated to quicken it. Russia, indeed, has so many more alluring objects to attract her attention, that the dreary and distant regions of Siberia and Kamtschatka can only hope to excite a very small portion of interest. But if any fortunate turn of affairs should give a stimulus to investigation and settlement in those quarters, we have little doubt that the Japanese themselves will ultimately fall under the sceptre of the Tsars; and, rising from their present state of political debasement, become, in some measure, to the eastern continent of Asia what the British islands are to Europe.

ART. XII. *Istorie Fiorentine di Giovanni Villani, Cittadino Fiorentino. The Florentine Histories of Giovanni Villani, a Citizen of Florence, to the year 1348. Milan, 1802. 8 toms.*

IT is not long since the perusal of a very able work of M. Sismondi, on the Italian Republics of the middle ages, induced us to express a wish that it might be the means of bringing us better acquainted with the early historians of the Italian nation than we have hitherto been. So full of interest and variety is the subject of their narratives, and so estimable, for the most part, are the authors themselves for all the more eminent qualities of historical excellence, and for the attainment of political and philosophical science, far beyond the level of their contemporaries in the other countries of Europe, that we could not, indeed, avoid feeling some surprise at the obscurity in which both the writers and their works are involved, and the ignorance which appears to prevail even among well informed persons respecting them. Perhaps, however, this feeling was a little unreasonable. The transactions of their own ancestors must be allowed to be more laudable objects of interest, to Englishmen, than those of any foreign nations: yet, before the translation of his chronicle by Mr. Johnes, Froissart, that most amusing recorder of the proudest portion of our annals, was known to hardly any but the few fortunate possessors of a Pynson's or Myddleton's Lord Berners. The resurrection of Hall and Holinshed from the entombment of a public library, is an event of yet later occurrence; and, even now, while every day teems with new impressions of Hume and Smollett, Henry and Andrews, nobody seems to care how long the obscurity of a dead language shall continue to cover the venerable forms of our old monkish chroniclers, those authentic and amusing relators of passing occurrences, who carry their reader back with them, by an irresistible spell, to the days in which they lived, and among the scenes and persons which they describe. Since then the taste for deriving our knowledge, even of the early history of our own nation, from the fountain-head of co-eval antiquity, is of so late growth, and still so imperfectly cultivated among us, it is hardly to be expected that men should be very eager to cross the Alps in search of the means of gratification, of which there is such ample store, yet untouched, lying, as it were, at their own doors.

Nevertheless, we hold it to be no unpleasant part of our duty to contribute all that in us lies towards improving a spirit which, we are quite sure, whatever channel it may take, is attended with the power of procuring abundance of valuable instruction, and great entertainment for all those who may happen to be influenced by it. We indulge hopes that an opportunity will be shortly afforded

us of renewing the subject of our former disquisitions by the arrival of a continuation of M. Sismondi's book from the continent. In the mean time, our attention has been called to a large importation of books, principally of the Milan press; and as our acquaintance with the state and progress of Italian literature has been very slight indeed, since the iron crown was fixed on the august brows of his majesty the emperor and king, it may not be uninteresting to many of our readers to be informed, that an extremely handsome edition of all the best classics of the Italian language has been published at Milan, under the auspices of the ci-devant Vice President of the Cisalpine Republic, and now, we believe, arch-chancellor of the kingdom of Italy, Melzi d'Eril, duke of Lodi, by a society calling themselves 'La Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani,' the members of which are very numerous, and of the first reputation for literature in their respective communities. This work had its commencement during the short peace of 1802; and in 1811, the date of the latest imported books, extended already to 150 volumes. This comprizes but a small portion of what is intended by the editors. According to them, the term 'classical,' as applied to Italian literature, 'si estende dai più antichi ed insigni scrittori sino al cominciare del secolo xviii;' and an edition undertaken on this basis, 'è quasi una raccolta di preziosi monumenti da' quali può di leggieri scorgere l'origine, il progresso, l'oscillazione, il risorgimento, la gloria finalmente, della Italiana letteratura.' Not all the works, however, (they proceed to say,) even of the most celebrated writers, can properly be termed classical; and thus a new distinction is made between classical authors, and classical productions. They instance accordingly, 'Il Convivio di Dante, la Teseide del Boccaccio, il Quatriregio di Federigo Frezzi, &c.' as not deserving the appellation bestowed on their respective authors, and therefore to be excluded from this edition. But, whatever may be its proposed extent, it is certainly an undertaking which reflects great honour, not only on the society which conducts it, but on the character of the people among whom it originated.

Whence comes it that England, of all nations the proudest, and in many respects the most justly so, of her superiority both in arts and arms, is outdone, by almost every civilized country of Europe, in the encouragement given to the monuments of her national literature? But this by the way.—To return to the subject before us,—the first work published by this Milan society was that of which we have placed the title at the head of our present article. We are happy in having found this opportunity of recording the laudable zeal for the departed glories of their nation, which exists even in the present degraded and exhausted state of Italy; but our principal purpose in thus introducing the subject was to in-

dulge our inclination for bringing our readers acquainted with some of the merits of the early Florentine historians.

The first of these, in chronological order, is the venerable Ricordano Malespini; whose history, commencing with the fabulous Origin of Fiesole, the Mother of Florence, is broken off at the year 1281, and thence brought down to 1286, by Giacchetto Malespini, his nephew. In point of style and purity of language it remains to this day one of the choicest models of the Tuscan dialect. It is plain and unornamented, without any of that coarse and imperfect abruptness which distinguishes the rude periods of literature in every other language. Of gross and absurd fable respecting the origin and early history of the Florentine nation it possesses a reasonable share—but in proportion as the author advances nearer to the era in which he writes, a tone of perfect credibility and good faith gradually takes place of fiction and romance; and the history becomes remarkable by way of contrast to the monkish chronicles of other nations,—even those of a much later date,—from the almost total absence of superstitious credulity which it exhibits. Even Villani, who wrote half a century later, and who makes Malespini the groundwork of his own history, has here and there foisted tales of visions and miracles into his original, which Malespini himself had either never heard of, or which his better understanding rejected. Since, however, we have mentioned our author's powers of invention, or rather (perhaps) the inventions of others which he thought proper to retain out of compliment to his native city, it is but fair to give a specimen of them; and our readers shall accordingly hear, (in a style which we have studied, not only in this, but in every subsequent quotation, to render as congenial as possible with the simple antiquity of the original,)

Concerning Adam: how long time there was between him and king Ninus (Nimrod); and how Apollo the astrologer caused Fiesole to be built.—Cap. 2.

In the first place I say, that from Adam until king Nimrod, who conquered all the world in battle and subdued it under his dominion, (which was about the time of the birth of Abraham,) were years two thousand three hundred and forty-four. In the days of this Nimrod was built the great Tower of Babel, which caused the division of the seventy-two languages of the world. The first division was into three parts, (Asia, Africa, and Europe, which last is described by its boundaries with very tolerable accuracy, beginning from Brindisi and making the circuit from east to west, back to Brindisi again)—which aforesaid land, so bounded, was first governed by one named Atlante, (Atlas,) (whose wife was a very beautiful woman, by name Electra,) and also by Jupiter with whom was united Appollonio, (Apollo,) a great master of astronomy; and all their actions were directed by his advice. Now they,

they, all together, fixed upon a spot within the confines of their empire, whereon they laid the foundations of Fiesole, which was the first city ever built in the world since the deluge of the ark of Noah; and this place was so chosen by Apollo, on account of its being the most wholesome spot in the whole world, in respect of air, and being under the best and greatest planet; and it was called Fiesole because it was the first city built as aforesaid. In this city dwelt Atlas, and Electra his wife, and many of their people.

In what manner the people of Fiesole came to be concerned with the Trojan war; how in after times Catellino, (Catiline,) a Roman senator of great power, put himself at their head, and obtained many important victories over the Romans and a certain king called Fiorino; (whose name we do not recollect in Sallust;) how this same Catiline was afterward defeated, and Fiesole utterly destroyed by Julius Cæsar, who thereupon built a new city and called it Florence after the name of the said King Fiorino; how, five hundred years later, Attila, surnamed 'Flagellum Dei,' returned the compliment by overthrowing the establishments made by Julius Cæsar, and replacing the inhabitants in the situation in which the eminent astrologer before mentioned had fixed them; the reader, if he has any passion for this sort of historical romance, may find in Malespini. But, after smiling at the simplicity of the chronicler who records these fables so gravely, it is fair to add, that they occupy a very small portion of his work; and that the merits of the remainder are such as amply justify the character which we have given of him. The account of the great battle fought near Benevento between Manfred, king of Naples, and the invader Charles of Anjou, of which the result was the dissolution of the Swabian, and establishment of the Angevin dynasty in that kingdom, affords a favourable specimen of the style and spirit of his narrative. We take it from Villani, who has added some important circumstances; but the main part of it is Malespini's.

Now King Manfred having heard the news of the loss of San Germano, on the return of his discomfited army, was much amazed, and took counsel what he should do; and it was thereupon advised by the Counts Calvagno, Giordano, and Bartolomeo, and by the chamberlain, and others of his barons, that he should withdraw himself, with all his power, into his city of Benevento, that being a place of strength, where he might have the advantage either to accept battle on his own ground, or to retreat into Apulia, as need might be; and where, if he chose to remain, he might prevent the further advance of King Charles, inasmuch as there was no other way by which he could enter the Principato, or reach Naples, or penetrate into Apulia, except by the way of Benevento; and it was done accordingly. As soon as King Charles heard that Manfred had marched towards Benevento, he immediately left San Germano, to follow him with all his host; and he did not take

the direct road by Capua and the Terra di Lavoro, because he might not have been able to pass the bridge of Capua by reason of its strength, and of the strong towers which were there placed to defend the river; but he put himself, in order to pass the Volturno, at the ford of Tulierno, and from thence held on his march through the county of Alife, and the passes of the Beneventan mountains; and, without taking any rest, and in great distress both of money and provisions, he arrived at the hour of prime, (ora di terza,) or about mid-day, at the foot of Benevento, in the valley which surrounded that city, and which is about two miles in length, and near the river Calore which runs immediately under it.

As soon as King Manfred discovered King Charles's army, he took counsel to fight, and to sally forth in order of battle to assault the Frenchmen before they had well rested themselves; but in this he was ill-advised; for if he had only waited one day, or two, King Charles and all his host would have been destroyed or taken without a blow, for want of provisions for themselves and their horses; seeing that, the very day before they reached Benevento, through distress of victuals, many of them were compelled to eat the leaves of colewort and feed their horses upon the stems, instead of bread and grain; and all the money they had was spent. Also the forces of King Manfred were very much scattered; the Lord Conrad of Antioch being in Abruzzo with his people, Count Frederick in Calabria, and the Count of Ventimiglia in Sicily; so that, if he had delayed ever so little, his strength would have been augmented, and he must have remained conqueror; *but whom God intends to destroy, he first takes away his senses.** Having left Benevento, he descended the hill and crossed the bridge over the Calore to the plain, where stands (the church off) Santa Maria della Grandella; and there, at a place called La Pietra a Roseto, he drew out his army in three battalions. The first was composed of Germans, in whom he principally confided, and contained twelve hundred lances, (cavalieri,) commanded by the Count Calvagno; the second was of Tuscans, Lombards, and Germans, about a thousand lances, commanded by the Count Giordano; the third, of Apulians and Saracens of Nocera, at the head of whom was King Manfred, in person, and this last consisted of fourteen hundred lances, without reckoning the foot-soldiers and the Saracen archers who were in great numbers.

King Charles, seeing the army of Manfred drawn out, on the plain, in battle array, took counsel as to what he should do, whether to accept battle that same day, or wait; and he was advised by most of his barons to wait until the next morning in order that their horses might have some rest from the fatigues of their long march. The Lord Giles le Brun, constable of France, recommended the contrary course; he said, that, by delay, the enemy would take heart and courage, that their own victuals would entirely fail them; and, in short, that if no others would, he only, with his lord, Robert of Flanders, and the

* *Ma a cui Dio vuole male li toglie il senno.* This is a favourite expression of Villani's. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.* It does not occur in Malaspina.

Flemish

Flemish force, would undertake the hazard of the battle, having full confidence in God that he should obtain the victory, through his assistance, over the enemies of holy church. When King Charles heard this, he readily accepted the advice, from the great good will he had to fight, and said with a loud voice to his knights, *Venu est le jour que nous avons tant désiré*;* then he caused the trumpets to blow, and gave orders for every man to arm and make himself ready for the battle. In a short time his orders were obeyed, and he formed his men into three divisions after the example of the enemy. The first consisted of Frenchmen, about a thousand lances, commanded by the Lord Philip de Montfort and the Maréchal de Mirepoix; the second was led by King Charles himself, with the Count Guy de Montfort, and many barons and knights of Provence, and of the Campagna, and of Rome, in number about nine hundred good knights; and the royal standard was borne by the Lord William, surnamed l'Etendart, a man of great courage; of the third squadron was captain, Robert Count of Flanders, with his tutor Giles, constable of France, and with seven hundred lances, composed of Flemings, Brabançons, and Picards; and over and above these battalions, were the exiled Guelphs of Florence; and the other Italian states, in number full fourteen hundred more; of whom a great many belonging to the principal houses of Florence, were made knights by the hand of King Charles at the commencement of the battle. Of these exiles of Florence and Tuscany, the Count Guido Guerra was captain, and Master Conrad da Montamagno, a Pistoiese, carried their standard in that battle.

Now King Manfred seeing all the divisions formed in battle array, enquired of what that fourth squadron was composed, which appeared to him so well equipped in arms and horses; and it was answered him, that they were the Guelph faction whom he had expelled from Florence, and the other places of Tuscany. Then Manfred lamented himself, saying, "Where is the succour that I receive from the Ghibelline faction, which I have so well served and put in the possession of so great treasure?" And he said, "Verily, that people shall lose nothing this day;" and this he said, speaking of the aforesaid exiles, and meaning, that, if he should gain the victory, he would be a friend to the Guelphs of Florence, seeing that they were so faithful to their lord, and to their party, and would set himself thenceforward against the Ghibellines.

The armies of both kings being drawn out in the plain of La Grandedella, in the manner already related, and each having exhorted the people under him to fight bravely, and King Charles having given the word *Monjoye, Chevaliers*, and Manfred, *Scoria, Cavalieri*, to their respective soldiers; the Bishop of Auxerre, as legate of the pope, gave absolution and benediction to all those of King Charles's host, with full pardon of every offence and penalty, by reason that they were about to

* Villani, who has added this account of the preparations made by Charles, probably out of the *Historia Sicula* of Sabas Malaspina, frequently gives us the speeches of the Angevin monarch, in the French language; which throws a remarkable air of vraisemblance over his narrative.

fight for the service of the church. This done, a sharp and severe conflict commenced between the two first divisions of French and Germans; and so desperate was the assault made by the latter, that the French were sorely annoyed by it, and forced to recoil, and lose their ground. The good King Charles, seeing them so roughly handled, no longer kept the order of battle; but being well aware that if his first division, composed of Frenchmen, on whom he mostly relied, were broken, he could have little expectation of safety from the rest, he immediately advanced to their support, with the second squadron. The exiles of Florence, with their division, as soon as they saw the king thus engaged, freely threw themselves upon his defence, and performed marvellous feats of arms that day, always following his person. The same did Master Giles le Brun, constable of France, and Robert of Flanders, with their division, insomuch that the battle was very fierce and bloody, and lasted a long time before it could be known who had the better of it. The Germans, by their valour and the strength of their good swords, caused the French great loss and slaughter; but at last there arose a loud cry among the French ranks, *alli stocchi, alli stocchi, e fedire i cavalli!* To your short swords, and strike at the horses! and they did accordingly; by which means, in a short time, the Germans were sorely grieved, and many thrown down, and almost put to flight. King Manfred, who with his band of Apulians had advanced to their assistance, seeing that they were turned and could sustain the conflict no longer, encouraged those of his own division, and commanded them to follow him to the battle; but he was ill obeyed by them, for the greater part of the Apulian barons, and those of the kingdom, deserted him, and among the rest the earl chamberlain and the Counts of Acerra, and of Caserta, and others; either through faintness of heart, seeing the Germans turn back, or, as some say, through treachery, like a faithless people, and affecting a new master; so they abandoned Manfred, and fled, some towards the country of Abruzzo, and some to Benevento.

Manfred still kept the ground with a few horse, doing as befits a valiant lord, who will rather die in battle than fly with shame; and, putting his helmet on his head, a silver eagle which formed its crest, fell before him upon his saddle bow. He seeing this, was much amazed thereat, and said to the barons by his side, in Latin, "*Hoc est signum Dei!*" I fixed this crest with my own hands in such manner that it could not be moved." For all that he did not give over, but stripped himself of his royal surcoat, that he might not be known for the king, and then valiantly set himself to fight in the midst of the battle, like any other baron. His people however did not hold out long; but were soon put to flight and utterly routed; and King Manfred himself fell dead in the midst of his enemies, being killed by a French esquire, as it is said, but is not known for certain.

In this battle there was great mortality on both sides, but principally on that of King Manfred: and those who fled from the field were pursued till night by King Charles's people, who entered the city of Benevento, together with the fugitives, and made themselves masters
of

of it; of those who fled, many of Manfred's principal barons were made prisoners; among others the Count Giordano, and Master Piero Asino degli Uberti, both of whom King Charles sent prisoners to Provence, and there caused them to be cruelly put to death in different prisons. The other German and Apulian barons he kept prisoners in different places in the kingdom. A few days after, the wife and children of Manfred, who were with the Saracens of Nocera, were given up to King Charles; and these afterwards died in prison. And well did the curse of God fall on Manfred and his heirs, and plainly was the justice of God made manifest in him, because he was excommunicate, and an enemy and persecutor of holy church.

The body of Manfred was sought after for more than three days before it was found, nor was it in that time known whether he was killed or taken, or had escaped, because he had not worn his royal coat of arms in the battle. At last a common fellow, of his own soldiers, recognized it by many personal marks lying in the midst of the field where the battle had been most fierce. As soon as he had found it, he threw it across his ass's back, and drove it along, saying, "Who buys Manfred?" (*Chi accatta Manfredi?*) Upon this one of the king's barons gave him a severe beating with a cane, and carried the body before King Charles, which that king seeing, commanded all the captive barons into his presence, and enquired of each of them whether that was the body of their King Manfred? All fearfully answered, that it was; but when it came to the turn of Count Giordano, he clapped his hands before his face, weeping and exclaiming, *Oimè, oimè, signor mio, che è questo!* Alas, alas, my master, is it come to this! and the French barons commended him highly. King Charles was then entreated by some of his barons to give it an honourable interment; but he answered, *le fairois je volontiers, si lui ne fût excommunié*; but, seeing that he was excommunicate, King Charles would not suffer that he should be received into consecrated ground, but caused him to be buried at the foot of the bridge of Benevento; and every man of his army threw a stone upon his grave, so that a great mountain of stones was raised thereon. Some say, however, that he was afterwards removed from this place by the Bishop of Cosenza, under the pope's orders, and taken out of the kingdom, (because the kingdom is church-land,) and interred on the banks of the river Verde, on the confines of the kingdom and the Campagna. This, however, we do not affirm, although Dante renders testimony thereof in his *Purgatorio*, cap. 3. where he treats of King Manfred, saying, "*S'è pastor di Cosenza, &c.*" This battle was fought on a Friday, the last day of February, in the year of Christ 1265.

On this narrative it ought to be remarked that both Malespini and Villani were strongly attached to the Guelph party, which, shortly after the death of Manfred, became again predominant in their native city; and that in the violent language of the faction, the Sultan of Nocera (as, from the employment which he gave to the Saracens established at that place, they used to denominate the unhappy

unhappy son of Frederick) was little inferior in the scale of abomination to Satan himself. Nevertheless, it will be seen from many passages in the preceding account that, however tinctured with the prejudices of the times, those historians were more capable even than some of our own day of acknowledging the real virtues to be met with among their enemies, as well as the errors and vices of their friends. The exalted and chivalrous valour of the poor excommunicated monarch receives from them its tribute of applause, while the inhumanity of his successful rival, though no comment is made upon it, is set in too strong a contrast not to persuade us that it was felt and condemned by those who record it. We must not expect to find in the history of a Florentine Guelph so favourable a portrait of the Swabian prince as that which his friend and follower, Nicholas de Jamsilla, has transmitted to posterity; nevertheless the representation which Villani has given us of the conqueror is coloured with greater discrimination, and evinces a mind superior to any slavish bias of faction or superstition.

That the events which are about to be related may be the more plainly understood, we will now speak a little concerning his virtues and conditions; and there is good reason to make record of so great a lord and so great a friend and protector of holy church and of our city of Florence. This Charles was wise, of good governance, valiant and fierce in arms, and much feared and redoubted by all the kings of the world; magnanimous, and of high purpose to accomplish all great undertakings, stedfast in adversity, a fast and true observer of all promises, a little speaker, and a great doer. He scarcely ever laughed, was virtuous as a churchman, and catholic; severe in justice and of a ferocious countenance; large and tall in person, and sinewy; his complexion olive, with a high prominent nose; and he carried the semblance of royal majesty above all other great lords. He watched much and slept little, and used to say that sleep is so much time lost. He was bountiful to his knights and men at arms, but covetous of acquiring lands, dominion, and money wherever it might come from, to pay the expences of his expeditions and wars. In courtiers, minstrels, and jugglers, he never took delight.—*Villani*, lib. vii. cap. 1.

Respecting the infamous murder of Conradin, (a transaction scarcely to be paralleled but by that of the Duke d'Enghien in these days,) the historian's judgment is somewhat warped by his Guelphish prejudices with regard to the effect of the excommunication under which the young prince suffered; but he evidently holds the deed in abhorrence; and would fain absolve holy church from the charge of concurrence in, or approbation of, the measure.

Certainly, says he, it is seen by experience, that whosoever raises his hand against holy church and becomes excommunicate, it follows that his last end will be miserable both for soul and body; wherefore the sentence of excommunication of holy church is for ever

to-be dreaded, *whether it be just or unjust*; and thereof are we assured by many undeniable miracles, as by whosoever reads the ancient chronicles, or even this new chronicle, may easily be found, in the examples of emperours and great lords who have from time to time been rebels and persecutors of holy church. However, King Charles was greatly blamed, for the sentence he pronounced against Conradin, by the pope and his cardinals, and indeed by all wise men, seeing that he had taken Conradin and his followers in battle, and it would have been better to hold him a prisoner than to put him to death. And some said that the pope was consenting thereto; but let us not give faith to it, because he was reputed a most holy man. And it appears, that the innocence of Conradin, who was of such tender years to suffer judgment of death, was the cause that God displayed his anger against King Charles by a miracle; since, not many years afterwards, God sent him great adversities even at the time when his fortunes appeared to be at their height.—Lib. vii. cap. 29.

It is somewhat instructive at the present day to learn after what manner great conquerors and scourges of the human race have, in former times, conducted themselves under the pressure of a signal reverse of fortune. Upon the mind of Charles, adversity seems to have produced a favourable effect; and the termination of his career evinces a strong sense of religion, which he certainly partook in common with his brother Saint Louis, and other members of his family, however much it might have been debased, as to its influence upon his general conduct, by the gross superstitions of the age.

When King Charles heard these news,* he was so much amazed, that never, through danger of battle or any other adversity, had he entertained so great a fear; and he said with a sigh, "would God that I were dead, since fortune is so adverse to me that I have lost my dominion, having so great a power both at land and sea; and that it should be taken from me by a people whom I never injured! It greatly grieves me that I did not take Messina upon those conditions which were formerly offered to me. But, seeing I can now do no other," (with much sorrow he spoke,) "break up our host, and let us pass over; and whosoever was the cause of so great a treason, whether he be clerk or layman, of him I will take ample vengeance." The first day he sent over the queen, with all the artizans and equipage of the army; the second, he passed over himself with all his host, except that, by way of stratagem, he left in ambush near Messina two thousand men at arms, with two captains; to this end, that if upon the rising of his army, the besieged should sally forth out of the city to make themselves masters of the baggage of his camp, they might come behind and part of them

* Of the capture of his fleet before Messina, by King Peter of Arragon. This was after the celebrated massacre of the Sicilian vespers, in 1287; and the total loss of the island was the immediate consequence.

enter the place; which, if it should take effect, the king would immediately return with all his power.

This well planned stratagem failed, from causes which it is unnecessary in this place to detail. The liberation of Messina was effected; and the Arragonese admiral sailing to the Calabrian shore, set on fire eighty of King Charles's transports before his eyes.

And this King Charles and all his army beheld, without being able to give them the smallest relief, by reason of which his grief was redoubled. And, holding in his hand a staff, which it was his custom to carry, he began to gnaw it for very anguish, and said, "*Ah Dieu, molt m'aies offert à surmonter; je te prie, que l'avaler soit tout bellement.*" And by this it is shewn, that neither the wit nor the strength of man hath any avail before the judgments of God. When King Charles was arrived in Calabria, he gave licence to all his barons and their people, and returned alone and very dolorously to Naples.—Cap. 74.

'Il sembloit à Charles,' (observes M. Sismondi on this passage,) 'que ses flottes et son armée, instrumens qu'il étoit accoutumé à faire agir avec tant de facilité, se refusoient tout-à-coup à la main qui les dirigeoit.' His situation and feelings on this occasion may probably bear a pretty close comparison with those of Buonaparte after his flight from Mosco; but we entertain some doubt whether the chivalrous spirit of the latter will induce him to offer single combat '*en champ-clos*' to the Emperor Alexander, or whether, on his death-bed, he will have so good a plea to offer for the pardon of his restless ambition as that which the mistaken piety of the times encouraged Charles of Anjou to present before the judgment seat of God, doubtless with a very comfortable persuasion of its acceptance.

When he, whose busy mind could never sleep, had arrived at the town of Foggia, in Apulia, on his way to Brindisi, to advance the preparations of his navy, it pleased God that he fell sick of a violent malady, and departed this life the day after the Epiphany, in the year of Christ 1284. But, before he died, with great contrition he received the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and spoke with reverence the following words, "*Sire Dieu, je crois vraiment que vous êtes mon sauveur, ainsi vous prie, que vous aies merci de mon âme; ainsi comme je fis la prise du royaume de Sicile plus pour servir sainte église que pour mon profit ou outre convoitise, ainsi vous me pardonnez mes peches;*" and having spoken, he departed this life presently after; and his body was brought to Naples, and, after great lamentations for his death, was buried in the archiepiscopal church of Naples with high honour.—Cap. 94.

The history of the two Malespinis terminates, as we have before mentioned, with the year 1286; and the remainder of the chronicle of G. Villani, to its conclusion, in 1348, (comprising at least three-fourths of the whole,) belongs exclusively to the last mentioned

tioned author. For what he has borrowed from his predecessors, Sismondi remarks that he ought not to be charged with plagiarism, although it be true that he has copied a great deal of it, word for word. Before the invention of printing, the rights of authorship were little understood or valued. Villani undertook to compile a history of his native country from the best sources that were within his reach, for the use of his friends and of posterity. This was all his aim; and the thought of literary glory never entered into his calculations. There may have been, even at that period, some vague and unsettled idea of a property in the fruit of a man's own original genius; but in the bare record of passed or passing events (and history was then regarded in no other light) there could not be any whatever. The liberty which an ancient chronicler took with the labours of his predecessors, he was content to furnish to those who came after him; and, in the same manner as G. Villani took, without acknowledgment, the whole work of Malespini into his own history, so Giovanni himself, and his two continuators, Matthew and Philip Villani, were afterwards incorporated by a later compiler, Marchione de Coppo Stefani, and brought down by him, from 1365, (where Philip ends,) to 1385. 'Nous sommes toujours trop disposés à oublier que l'invention de l'imprimerie a complètement changé la tâche des auteurs et leurs relations avec leurs lecteurs.'

Between the Malespini and Villani, however, we have an intermediate historian to notice, whose name is less known than either of the former, but (according to Muratori's authority) is deserving of at least an equal degree of celebration. This author is Dino Compagni, whose '*Cronica di Firenze*,' beginning with the year 1279, and ending with 1312, is inserted in the ninth volume of the *Scriptores Italici*. We have not hitherto had an opportunity of consulting it, so as to know whether Villani is in any respect indebted to this, as he is to Malespini's history, or to appreciate for ourselves the justice of Muratori's commendation. It is probable, however, that owing to some causes unexplained, the work remained either unknown, or, having been partially known, became forgotten, until the illustrious labours of that great antiquary revived it. Scipio Ammirato, certainly, was a stranger to its existence. Yet was Dino a notable worthy in his generation; 'Vir nescio an antiquâ sanguinis nobilitate, certè ex honoribus et dignitatibus quas adeptus est, illustris.' He appears as one of the priors of Florence in 1289; gonfalonier of justice in 1293; and again prior in 1301. The task of amending and revising the statutes was committed to him (among others) in 1294. He says of himself that, when young, he was very active in exciting a popular commotion in his native city, confessing (with a laudable ingenuousness)

nousness) that 'per giovenazza, non conosceva le pene delle leggi.'

'It is much to be wished,' Muratori observes, 'that we had many more such historians; for no man is more worthy of faith, or at least more capable of conveying accurate information than he who having sat at the helm of government describes events in which he himself bore a principal share, or which, at least, passed immediately subject to his own inspection.' In comparison with Malespini and G. Villani, he considers Compagni as excelling them both 'in elegance of style and choice of matter;' 'ad hæc in illo quædam verborum dictionumque puritas occurrit, usque aded ut inter præcipuos linguæ nostræ patres sit accensendus.' Nor, he adds, is this to be wondered at; since, 'ut erat ingenio liberali a naturâ instructus, non levem Musis operam dedit.' Some of his poetical productions are preserved in Leo Allatius; and an oration which he pronounced before Pope John the Twenty-second is still extant. 'Whether he was Guelph or Gibelline* is not discernible; but it is abundantly evident that he was a lover of good government, and a constant friend to peace; and, although he often inveighs against the vices of his countrymen, he never does so with acrimony, but always evinces the spirit of a patriotic citizen. 'Uno verbo,' concludes his animated eulogist, 'Florentia habet unde sibi de hoc etiam Scriptore multum plaudent atque gloriatur.'

We at last come, in chronological order, to the author whose name stands at the head of this article. The precise period of the birth of Giovanni Villani cannot be ascertained; but it is known that his family was among the most respectable in his native city, and that his father held the venerable office of prior in the year 1300. He appears to have been the eldest of four sons, of whom Matthew, the continuator of his history, was the youngest. He was twice married, and had children by both his wives; but none of them seem to have left any descendants; and the male line of his brother Matthew, which continued for a much longer period, terminated in the year 1616. Like almost all the noble citizens of Florence, he exercised the mercantile profession, and (as his biographer, in the 'Elogio di Giovanni Villani,' prefixed to this edition of his work, informs us) by the prudence with which he lived, was reputed worthy of the first and most honourable offices of the state. In the year 1300, (the same year in which his father held the situation of prior, as before related,) he was present at the great jubilee held at Rome under pope Boniface VIII. As it was

* If it could be ascertained that he was of the latter faction, the ascendancy of the Guelphs at Florence, and the inveterate jealousy of their rivals which so long prevailed among them, would sufficiently account for the obscurity of his work.

upon this occasion that he first conceived the design of writing his history, we shall give our readers his account of it in his own words.

In the year 1300, Boniface the Eighth, who then filled the papal chair, proclaimed a plenary indulgence, says our author, "for every Roman, who during thirty days, and for all other persons of whatsoever nation, who during fifteen days, successively, in the said year, should visit the churches of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul." Multitudes flocked to the celebration of this jubilee from all parts of Christendom; and it was the most wonderful thing ever beheld, that, throughout the year, there were at Rome two hundred thousand pilgrims in addition to the constant inhabitants, without reckoning those who were on the roads coming and returning, and they were all (both horses and men) amply provided with victuals of all sorts, with great regularity, and without any noise or bustle. And to this, adds the historian, I can myself bear witness, who was present and saw it. Now, having undertaken this blessed pilgrimage to the holy city of Rome, seeing with my own eyes the noble antiquities which are therein, and reading the records of the great actions of the Romans written by Virgil, and by Sallust, Lucan, Titus Livius, Valerius, Paulus Orosius, and other masters of history, who have described little things as well as great, even those relating to the further ends of the world, in order to give memory and example unto posterity, I took from them my style and method of writing, albeit I were not a disciple worthy to perform so great a work. But considering that our own city of Florence, the daughter and the workmanship of Rome, was then in her ascension, and disposed to the achievement of great fortunes, as also that Rome was in her decline and diminution, it appeared to me convenient to collect in this new chronicle all the acts of the said city from its commencements, as far as it was possible for me to search for and discover them, and to follow up the same with the histories of times past and present, and of those to come (so long as it shall please God) both of the acts of the Florentine people, and of all other notable occurrences throughout the whole world, of which I may be able to obtain any knowledge; God granting his grace; in the hope whereof I have entered upon this undertaking, duly considering my own poor skill as that upon which I could place no reliance. And thus, through the mediation of Christ, in the year of his incarnation 1300, I, being returned from Rome, began to compile this book, to the glory of God and of the blessed Saint John, and in commendation of our city of Florence.—Lib. iv. cap. 36.

Very shortly after he had taken this commendable resolution, in the summer of the same year 1300, broke out that dreadful division of the Guelph faction into the *parte nera* and *parte bianca*, (the black and the white party,) which he deplores with all the feeling of a good citizen. The origin of that '*maladetta briga*' is traced to a private feud which took place in the neighbouring city of

Pistoja: but, although the history of that event deserves to be remembered, not only on account of the tremendous consequences which it carried in its train, but also as being extremely characteristic of the barbarous manners of the age, and the factious spirit of the nation, in which it occurred, we cannot here afford space for its relation.*

To proceed with the history of our author. It appears that, in the ensuing year 1301, he was present at the grand public entry of Charles de Valois into Florence to attempt the restoration of tranquillity, in which, from his general spirit, it may be believed that he cordially assisted; but in vain; since the year after witnessed the banishment of the chiefs of the *parte bianca*, and among others, of the illustrious poet Dante, from Florence. In 1304, he undertook a journey to Flanders; probably on some commercial concerns, though it has been conjectured that he was induced by the desire of seeing foreign countries, or of escaping the calamities to which he was an unwilling witness in his own. However it be, we owe to this journey some very interesting particulars respecting the wars of Philip le Bel with the Flemings, which are not to be met with in the French historians. He tells us (*lib. viii. cap. 78.*) that he visited the field of battle at Mons en Puelle, a few days only after that celebrated and sanguinary contest, and while the dead bodies were still lying on the ground unburied. How long he remained in those parts is uncertain; nor does his name occur again in any memorial of the times until the year 1316, when he was appointed for the first time to the office of prior; and it gives us some little light into the zeal and ardour with which he collected all the information he was able about the affairs of foreign nations, however widely dispersed, to find that one of his colleagues was Pela Balducci, who furnished him with all that he has written concerning the mercantile privileges conferred by the King of Tunis; and another Pace di Certaldo, author of a '*Storia della Guerra di Semifonte*,' from which it appears that Villani was in the habits of a regular interchange with him of historical records and monuments. In the same manner, he collected from a Florentine of the house of Bastari, who was brought up in his infancy at the court of 'Cassano Imperatore de' Tartari,' (Ghâzan Khân, the seventh king of Persia of the race of Jenghiz,) and was, about the year 1299, sent by that conqueror on an embassy to the pope, a variety of very curious information respecting his sovereign, and the manners

* A much more minute, and therefore more valuable, account of it than that given by Villani, is to be found in a very curious original history of the same period, whose author is unknown, and which is published and cited under the title of '*Historie Pistojesi anonyme, ovvero delle cose avvenute in Toscana dal 1300 al 1348.*'

and customs of the Tartar nations, which, on comparison with the oriental historians, will be found to be remarkably correct. The miraculous conversion of Sultan Ghâzan to christianity is, indeed, a manifest fable; but it is not at all improbable that the Florentine envoy related it for the purpose of rendering his mission more acceptable. In other respects, the character of Ghâzan Khân, certainly one of the greatest and most enlightened princes of his race, as it is given by Major Price from the Habeib-Usseir, corresponds in a striking manner with that which Villani extracted from his conversations with his friend Bastari. The year 1317 was happily distinguished for a general pacification, obtained by the mediation of Robert of Naples, between the Guelphs and Gibellins throughout Tuscany, when Villani was sent in conjunction with two others as *provveditori* of a treaty between his native city and the Ghibelline state of Pisa.

We need not follow him through all the offices of state which from this time he is found to have filled at different intervals with equal honour to himself and advantage to his countrymen. His military employments do not appear to have been very frequent, but he took the field in the year 1323, during that most unfortunate campaign against Castruccio, Lord of Lucca, which had nearly terminated in the destruction of the army of the Florentines and the subversion of their liberties. In his honest and minute account of these transactions, he presents us with a very lively picture of the alternation of ignorant terror and vain confidence displayed in the conduct of an unwarlike populace, unexpectedly called to take arms in defence of their independence: lively, indeed, is his whole history of this very romantic war, which lasted with little intermission during the life of Castruccio, and during which, with an occasional mixture of extreme folly, perverseness, and vain glory, were called out all the best energies and noblest exertions of the Florentine character. The account of Castruccio himself is an honourable instance of that great historical quality which we have before attributed to Villani, of impartiality and candour even towards his enemies. Of the pride and presumption which were prominent features in his character, indeed, he affords some memorable examples; but when he comes to relate his death, which he does with many interesting particulars, he adds the following description of his person and qualities.

This Castruccio was very well made in person, sufficiently tall and active, neat and not corpulent, of a fair complexion verging towards paleness, with strait light hair and a gracious countenance. He was about 47 years old when he died. A short time before, knowing his death to be approaching, he said to many of his most intimate friends:

"I see that I am going to die; *e morto me di corto vedrete disarrocato;*"

meaning, in his native Lucchese dialect, "and when I am dead, you will shortly see a great revolution of affairs." And he prophesied truly, as we shall soon have occasion to see. And, as we have been informed by his most private friends and relations, he confessed himself and received the sacraments and holy unction devoutly: but, nevertheless, he rested under a great error, inasmuch as he never acknowledged that he had offended God by the offence he had committed against holy church, satisfying his conscience that he had acted justly.

Now this Castruccio was a valiant and magnanimous tyrant, wise and crafty and enterprising and industrious, and accomplished in arms and provident in the art of war, and very adventurous in his undertakings, and much feared and redoubted, and in his time he did many great and notable things, and was a great scourge to his fellow citizens and to the Florentines and Pisans and Pistoiese, and all the inhabitants of Tuscany for the space of fifteen years that he ruled over Lucca; and* he was somewhat cruel in putting men to death and torture, ungrateful for services received in his distresses and necessities, fond of new people and new friends, and very vain glorious of his state and signory; inso-much that he believed himself to be lord of Florence, and king over all Tuscany. The Florentines were so much overjoyed at his death, that they could scarcely believe it possible; but as soon as the news was made certain, it came into the mind of me, the author of this book, to make record of a circumstance which happened to me respecting it.

Being a Florentine, and seeing my country in great disturbance through the persecution inflicted by him on our community which it seemed impossible that we should surmount, I wrote a letter to my devout friend, Master Dionysio dal borgo a San Sepolcro, master of divinity and philosophy in the University of Paris, wherein I lamented our condition, and prayed that he would instruct me how soon our adversity should come to its close; which letter of mine he answered in brief, saying, "I see Castruccio dead; and at the end of the war you will obtain possession of the Signory of Lucca by the hand of one who shall bear for his arms sable and gules, with great affliction and great expense and shame to our community, and you shall govern it but a short time." This letter I received from Paris in those days when Castruccio had won Pistoja as above related; so I wrote back to the master how Castruccio was in greater pomp and state than he had ever been, whereto he answered, "at present I shall again affirm that which I wrote to you by a former letter; and if God hath not changed his judgments and altered the course of the heavens, I see Castruccio dead and buried." And when I received this letter, I showed it to the priors my colleagues, (being then a member of that body,) and it so happened that Castruccio had then actually died a few days before, and the judgment of Master Dionysio was accomplished as a prophecy in all its parts.—Lib. x. cap. 85.

This is a pretty fair specimen of our author's credulity in matters

* The conjunction made use of in the original is never changed from 'and' to 'but,' so that it is not easy to discover from the text at what point Villani begins to speak in terms of disapprobation.

of astrology, in which science various passages of his work evince him to have been a firm believer. It must be remembered, however, that it was a science so fully established in those days in the judgments both of the learned and of the unlearned, that to disbelieve, would have been regarded as a proof of incredulity deserving of punishment in that circle of Dante's *Inferno* to which the poet has doomed Farinata and Cavalcante, the Emperor Frederic, and the Cardinal Ubaldini.

The year after Castruccio's death, the Florentines entered into a treaty for the purchase of Lucca from certain German adventurers who had seized it in the name of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and Villani was appointed one of the commissioners to conduct the negociation. To his great displeasure, however, it was long before any thing could be done towards the accomplishment of this important purpose, owing to the over-reaching disposition which his countrymen displayed on the occasion. It seems not improbable that they might have relied on Master Denys's prediction so strongly as to indispose them for listening to reasonable terms of accommodation.

In 1341, he was again appointed to the office of treating for the purchase of Lucca which had then fallen (by the chances of the times, so fertile in revolutions among all the little states of Italy) into the hands of Mastino della Scala, lord of Verona; but the year following was witness to a revolution in Florence itself, so extraordinary that, in preparing to relate it, the author himself is constrained to doubt whether posterity will yield credit to the tale. This was the usurpation of the Signory of Florence by the Duke of Athens, who had been sent thither as lieutenant to the Duke of Calabria, by virtue of a voluntary compact entered into some time before for the sake of their defence against the common enemy Mastino, who then aspired to the dominion of Tuscany. The account of this French adventurer's tyranny, in which he found means to maintain himself, for the space of nearly a twelvemonth, is among the most interesting portions of the work; and the particulars which Villani gives of the character and conduct of the despot, who (to the greater disgrace of the Florentines) was a very contemptible being, and governed rather by the basest views of self-interest than by the principle of a splendid ambition, afford a favourable specimen of his patriotic spirit as well as of his historical ability.

Shortly after he was condemned to suffer a sad reverse of fortune. The failure of the great commercial company of the Bardi, the circumstances and causes of which are detailed with great perspicuity and intelligence by the historian, involved with it the ruin of many others of the first houses of trade in Florence, and

among the rest that of the Bonaccorsi, of which Villani himself was a principal, who, in consequence of this calamity, was, at a very advanced age, consigned to a public gaol. This event happened in the year 1345. How long he remained a prisoner is not known, nor whether he ever extricated himself from the embarrassments of his declining age; but, three years afterwards, he became one, and that the most illustrious, of the numerous victims swept off by the plague, which in 1348 desolated all the provinces of Italy, and thence spread its devastations over almost the whole of Europe. Thus was terminated a long and chequered life, the greatest part of which was spent in honour and affluence, and in a state of unremitting public activity, which furnished him with the best opportunities for the study of mankind. 'Les historiens de la Grèce,' observes M. Sismondi, (tom. iv. p. 204,) 'avoient, comme lui, parcouru toutes les carrières publiques et privées, et, par bien des traits, Villani est digne d'être comparé à Hérodote.'

After the death of Giovanni, his brother Mattéo, who, being the youngest of the family, was probably several years his junior, took up the continuation of his history from the point where it was broken off by his death, and prosecuted it with vigour, intelligence and ability, at least equal to those displayed by his predecessor, until the year 1363; when the same public calamity which had deprived the world of the elder, in its recurrence carried off the younger also. He was struck by the fatal disease on the 8th of July, and lingered till the 12th, when he devoutly rendered up his soul to God. The length of his struggle was ascribed to his temperate course of life. In dying, he charged his son Philip to continue the family work until a peace should be concluded between the states of Florence and Pisa; a task, which he faithfully performed. The treaty of peace was signed at Pescia on the 17th of August, 1364; and with that event concludes the history of the three Villani.

With regard to the comparative merits of Giovanni and Mattéo, Muratori (and no opinion can have more weight than his) seems inclined to bestow the palm upon the former. 'Comparatus cum Johanne,' he says, 'concedere illi non uno titulo videtur; quippe qui Asiatico stylo usus, pluribus interdum quam opus sit, rerum eventus describit; attamen,' he continues, 'spondere id possumus, neminem ad legendum Matthæi historiam accessurum, cui voluptatem non pariat hominis sinceritas, prudentia, rectumque de rebus quas enarrat, judicium. Proinde tanti estimata est semper ejus auctoritas, ut ferè quicunque Italicam, immò et Gallicam, aliarumque provinciarum historiam, ad ea tempora spectantem, scribere amplissimè aggressi sunt, honorem illius fidei habuerint, eumque testum rerum tunc gestarum sine trepidatione adhibuerint.'

On

On account of these last mentioned and most important qualities of the historian, M. Sismondi pronounces him superior to his brother; and perhaps, though he does not expressly say it, Muratori, from the above passage, may be thought upon the whole to have entertained the same opinion.

Both these histories, eminently valuable as they are, lay concealed and almost forgotten, in MS., till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Giunti of Florence undertook the laudable task of giving them to the public. Their first edition of Giovanni Villani was printed at Venice in 1559; that of Mattéo, at the same place, in 1562, extending only to the 9th book. The three concluding books of the same author, and his son Philip, did not appear till 1577; and in 1581 and 1587 the whole of both histories was republished by the same enterprising printers, at Florence.

Still much was wanting to restore the text of Villani to its original purity; and many MSS. existed of which the Giunti had no information, or which they certainly did not take the pains of consulting. Muratori undertook to supply these defects, and, in 1729, published at Milan the edition which appears among his *Scriptores Italici*: it was not, however, very well received, and gave rise to a literary warfare, of which we have now neither time nor inclination to inquire into the merits. The present editors have, nevertheless, made the text of Muratori the foundation of their own; and they certainly possess ample means of forming an accurate judgment respecting it. The notes which they have furnished are few; and those few (as far as we have consulted them) distinguished only for an air of solemn trifling, which the name of the writer, Remigio Fiorentino, however high it may stand in the catalogue of Florentine commentators, does not, in our apprehensions, redeem.

The merits of the author may be in some degree, but still very imperfectly, appreciated by the series of desultory remarks and quotations which occupy the preceding pages. The latter half of the thirteenth century, and the beginning of the fourteenth, have been aptly called the heroic age of Florentine history; and the comparison of Giovanni Villani to Herodotus holds equally good with regard to the manners and situation of the people, of whom they were respectively the contemporaneous historians. It was the same age that witnessed the revival of poetry and philosophy, of sculpture, painting, and architecture. Dante,* the first and greatest of Italian poets, Guido Cavalcanti, one of the earliest

* The high reputation which this poet enjoyed, even among his contemporaries, is plainly shewn, not only by the passages in which Villani expressly dwells on the circumstances of his banishment and death, but by the frequent references which he makes to the historical allusions with which his poem abounds.

among those who dared to judge for themselves on the great questions of philosophy and religion, Cimabue and Giotto, Arnolfo and Brunelleschi, were all contemporaries and fellow-citizens of the Herodotus of Florence.

The simplicity of manners which distinguished the Florentines of that early period, may be collected from the picture presented by our historian of the condition of his fellow-citizens about the year 1250, that is, about twenty or thirty years previous to his own birth. That period forms a most distinguished era in the Florentine annals. It was then that the Guelphs were recalled to the government, after having been expelled from their native city by the Emperor Frederick the Second; and the administration which was formed upon their recal, and which lasted during the space of ten years, till the fatal battle of the Arbia (Sept. 4, 1260) restored the Gibellin faction, offers a spectacle of successful warfare, and legitimate aggrandizement, of patriotic magnanimity and public disinterestedness, hardly to be paralleled, in the same short space of time, by the annals of any nation under the sun.

In those times, the citizens of Florence lived in great sobriety, on coarse diet, and at little expense. In many of their habits they were uncultivated and rude: both themselves and their wives were clad in garments of the coarsest texture; many even wearing skins without lining, with bonnets on their heads, and wooden shoes (*usatti*) on their feet. The ladies used no ornaments; even those of the highest rank were satisfied with a gown, somewhat scanty, of coarse scarlet stuff of Ypres or Cambray, girt with a broad silken sash after the antique fashion, and a hooded mantle lined with fur; and the common sort went clad in coarse green cambric, made after the same mode. One hundred pounds was the general rate of dower given with a woman in marriage; and those who gave the utmost, reckoned two or three hundred pounds to be an extravagant portion, and quite beyond measure. The young maidens, for the most part, were twenty years old, or upwards, before they wedded. Of such habits, and such coarse manners, were the Florentines of that day; but they were of good faith, and loyal to each other and to the public, and with all their coarse living and their poverty, they accomplished greater and more virtuous actions than are performed in these our days, with so much more refinement and so much greater opulence.—*Lib. vi. cap. 70.*

‘*Car meilleur temps fut le temps ancien,*’

has been the universal cry of writers in all ages sufficiently advanced to reflect upon the manners of their predecessors, and compare the actual state of things with what they have heard, or believe that they have heard, of former times. How just the maxim may be in general, or how strictly applicable to the age in which Villani thus deploras the decay of virtue, which the short space of half a century had produced, we shall not stop to inquire; but one or two instances of that Spartan principle which, at the period we

are

are speaking of, characterised both the community at large, and many of the individuals who composed it, we cannot forbear recording, although conscious of having already exceeded our limits. The first was the action of the public at large. The city of Arezzo had hitherto remained a stranger to the wars which divided the rest of Tuscany; the Guelphs and Gibellins possessed an equal share in its internal government; and its tranquillity was assured by treaties with the neighbouring states, and among the rest with Florence in particular. In the year 1255, it happened that Count Guido Guerra, at the head of a troop of Florentine cavalry, marched through the territory of Arezzo, on his road to Orvieto; as he passed under the walls of the former city, the Guelph party watched their opportunity, and sent him an invitation to enter and expel their Gibellin rivals. In recompense for this service, which he instantly performed, they put him in possession of their citadel. 'It is thus,' observes M. Sismondi, who relates the circumstance after Villani, 'that the citadel of Thebes was seized by a Lacedæmonian general; the senate of Sparta condemned the captor, and retained the prize: the Florentines, on the contrary, took arms immediately, and repaired to Arezzo, to re-establish the Gibellins. They were their enemies, it is true, but they were enemies with whom a treaty of peace had been concluded; and, as Count Guido thought proper to defend his conquest, and the Guelphs who had invited him, knew not how to dismiss him without a remuneration, the Florentines lent the inhabitants of Arezzo a sum of 12,000 florins, which was never repaid, to enable them to satisfy the count, recover their citadel, defend their liberties, and re-establish order within their walls.'

The other anecdote reflects at least equal lustre upon an individual. The Pisans, after breaking a peace which the superior prowess of their enemies the Florentines had compelled them to sign, were again forced, by new defeats, to submit not only to the former terms, but to deliver up in addition the castle of Mutrone, on the sea-shore, which the Florentines reserved the right of destroying, or retaining to themselves, as they might deem most advisable. After long deliberation, they came to the resolution of adopting the former course; but the Pisans, unwilling to trust to this contingency, and extremely anxious to prevent their enemies from obtaining an establishment on the sea-coast, which they feared would tend to the prejudice of their exclusive commerce, had previously sent a secret deputation to prevent them, if possible, from coming to the determination which they so much dreaded.

There was then at Florence, says Villani, a great citizen, very powerful in his influence with the people and the commonalty, one of the Anziani, by name Aldobrandino Ottobuoni, to whom the Pisan envoy

envoy applied himself, through one of his friends, offering him 4000 golden florins, or more if he required it, to procure the dismantling of Mutrone. The good man Aldobrandino, hearing this offer, acted not like one avaricious of gain, but as a loyal and virtuous citizen; and calling to mind, that, only the day before, he had taken counsel with the other Anziani to dismantle Mutrone, and now seeing how much it was the wish of the Pisans that it should be dismantled, he returned to the council board, and, without saying any thing of the offer which had been made him, persuaded them, by many eloquent and sound arguments, to adopt the contrary of that on which they had before determined. Now note, reader, (continues our historian,) the virtue of this noble citizen; who, albeit he was far from being rich in possessions, yet had so great continence and sincerity of love for the public good, that the good Roman, Fabricius, did not display more in rejecting the treasure offered him by the Samnites; and therefore it appears a worthy thing to make mention of him for the sake of a good example to our citizens, that now are and hereafter shall be, to cherish more the reputation of virtue than the acquisition of corruptible riches.—Lib. vi. cap. 63.

Such were the people and such the age of which the history of Giovanni Villani exhibits throughout a most lively and interesting picture; and, however much the citizens of Florence may have degenerated, even in his life-time, from the pristine simplicity of manners and strictness of morals which he remarks to have prevailed in the days of their fathers, neither then, nor for more than a century after, did their spirit of patriotism decay, or that public virtue which, so long as it accompanies a people, alone creates and preserves the genuine interest of historical narration, in any degree become extinct or evaporate.

ART. XIII. *Observations on the Nature and Cure of Dropsies.*

By JOHN Blackall, M. D. Physician to the Devon and Exeter Hospital and to the Lunatic Asylum near Exeter. London. 1813. 8vo. pp. 428.

THE endeavours of those who have sought to improve the practice of medicine by applying to it facts or principles discovered in any other branches of physical science, or even by the introduction of any subtle refinements of investigation into morbid physiology and pathology, have hitherto been attended by no very decided success. An attempt of this kind is made in the present work of Dr. Blackall; and in a form, which is at least sufficient to excite our attention, and to induce the medical world to submit to the test of further experience the observations which it contains: but the concurrent testimony of such experience, in the hands of various practitioners, is obviously required, before
 they

their universal truth and importance can be admitted as sufficiently demonstrated.

Dropsies have been attributed by some authors to the inactivity or obliteration of the orifices of the absorbents of the respective cavities alone; but there can be little or no doubt that, in all serious cases, the secretion of the exhalant arteries has also undergone a morbid change. With whatever other disturbances of the processes of life these diseased affections may be connected, we are totally ignorant of the general nature of such a connexion: frequently they seem to be preceded by a state of inflammation, which has sometimes been supposed to have obstructed the orifices of the absorbents by an effusion of lymph, while the exhalants have remained pervious; but frequently also there is no appearance of any affection of this kind, and sometimes mechanical pressure on the trunk, or larger branches of the absorbents, seems to afford a tolerable explanation of the occurrence of local oedema. In general dropsy, it was discovered by the ingenious and industrious chemist Mr. Cruickshank, that a portion of the serum of the blood, at least of its albuminous or coagulating part, was usually mixed with the secretion of the kidneys: and the distinction of the nature and treatment of dropsies, according to the presence or absence of this symptom, constitutes the principal subject of Dr. Blackall's work, which is deduced from a series of observations, continued for several years, on an extensive scale.

With respect to the pathological part of the investigation, our author's labours seem to have been in great measure anticipated by Dr. Wells, of whose papers, published in 1812, the Postscript contains an abstract. In the dropsy following scarlatina, Dr. Wells found much danger from inflammation of the pleura or peritoneum: in a large proportion of cases the kidneys secreted some red blood; in many more their secretion was turbid, and in all severe cases it was coagulable by heat. In dropsy not following scarlatina, the coagulation took place in a little more than half of the cases examined; sometimes by heat only, and sometimes by the addition of nitrous acid, a test which becomes necessary where the fluid is so much diluted as to contain less saline matter than in its natural state; for in this case the addition of any neutral salt is sufficient to render the albumen coagulable by heat as usual. Anasarca and hydrothorax most commonly exhibited the coagulum; ascites less frequently. It often happened that the whole fluid exposed to heat became solid; sometimes softish, but sometimes quite firm: an effect which took place when common serum was added to the same secretion in a healthy state, in the proportion of one to four. From this mode of estimation it was concluded, that in one case as much as seven ounces of serum was discharged every

every day. In healthy persons Dr. Wells could scarcely ever discover any traces of a similar deposition of albumen; in some chronic diseases, especially where mercury had been employed, it was more or less observable. Bark and steel were of no use where it appeared; nor were squills, digitalis, and crystals of tartar so beneficial as in other cases: the tincture of cantharides seemed, however, to be more successful. Mr. Brande found, in a case of this sort, a considerable quantity of albumen precipitated by sulphuric acid, and an almost total deficiency of urea.

The principal part of Dr. Blackall's book is filled with a minute relation of cases of dropsies of all kinds, with their treatment, and sometimes with the appearances on dissection. Besides the distinctions derived from the presence or absence of a coagulum, Dr. Blackall seems to think that a high colour, and a large portion of extractive matter, where the coagulum is wanting, denote a strength of constitution with internal obstruction, (p. 192) and require active diuretics and deobstruents; and that the opposite state of great dilution indicates a feeble and impoverished habit, and sometimes a constitution completely broken down. With respect to the treatment of dropsy where the coagulum is discoverable, his observations are more elaborate and original.—p. 277.

'Stahl remarks, that haemorrhages are cured by moderate depletion, but by the use of astringents and tonics are converted into dropsies; and our practice will be rational in dropsy itself, in proportion as we keep the spirit of this observation in our view. The loss of the serous part of the blood, which so remarkably distinguishes it, presents to us a symptom of a very debilitating kind; and our first consideration of the subject might naturally enough encourage us to attempt its cure by those remedies, which, from their effects on occasions not apparently dissimilar, are called astringents. If, however, the doctrine of Stahl is ever true in an actual inflammatory haemorrhage, it is certainly most strictly so with regard to this flux of serum. Whoever endeavours to restrain it by bark, steel, and similar remedies, will inevitably see reason to repent that attempt in an increased tension and fulness, a pulpy countenance, a cough, if there has been already none, and in worse cases a true peripneumony. The very symptom for which he has prescribed will likewise be aggravated. Experience more than enough has convinced me of the truth and importance of this observation. Not, indeed, that practitioners can be said generally to act in contradiction to it; for they have too much overlooked the appearance to which it relates, to have made its removal an object of their contemplation. But it is so common an error in practice to impute discharges to debility, and endeavour to check them by astringents, that it cannot be too much provided against.'

It appears, however, (pp. 80 and 188) that where the urinary coagulum is very loose, bark and other tonics are beneficial.

The author proceeds to recommend very strongly that great attention

attention be paid to the signs of inflammation, not only preferring febrifuge hydragogues, but frequently employing even venesection, especially where there are symptoms of pneumonia, after mercurial courses, and in inflammatory anasarca; the firmness, copiousness, and early appearance of the urinary coagulum affording the best guide for the administration of this remedy. Purgatives in general have the advantage of obviating an inflammatory tendency; but in hydrothorax they are generally ineffectual. Half an ounce of the supertartrate of potass daily stands 'in the very first rank,' especially where there is much urinary sediment and coagulum; it is less appropriate where the kidneys are feeble and their secretion watery. Antimonials also seem to favour the operation of laxatives. Of diuretics, squills are the more likely to be serviceable in proportion as the coagulum is less marked, and there is less appearance of inflammation and of indigestion; they operate best in the fullest doses that can be borne, and the mixture of gum ammoniac with nitrous ether seems to afford a good vehicle for administering them (p. 66.) Cantharides, and other stimulating diuretics, our author thinks have a tendency to promote the appearance of coagulum. Tobacco seems to have some pretensions to notice; but digitalis is the most important of all diuretics where the urinary coagulum is present; in its absence, and where the fluid is 'pale and crude,' it seems to fail almost uniformly: (p. 297) in the hydrothorax, its powers are truly astonishing, but it ought not to be rashly mixed with other diuretics, nor with mercurial deobstruents.

Here, however, we must observe, that we have very lately been witnesses of the total failure of a full dose of digitalis in a case of hydrothorax, which was soon afterwards completely relieved by mercurials, carried to the extent of an incipient salivation, and combined with antimonial medicines. Against an over dose of digitalis, blisters on the stomach and opiates are recommended. Dr. Blackall entertains some doubts whether the tincture is equally diuretic with the infusion and the powder. He strongly insists on the efficacy of digitalis in subduing an inflammatory diathesis, and considers it as in many cases equivalent to venesection; nor is he disposed to admit the exceptions made by Withering, Maclean, and later authors, against its use, where inflammation is present. He is even inclined to believe that the blood may generally be in an inflammatory state in the dropsy of debilitated constitutions, and that digitalis may be beneficial by 'breaking down' its 'altered texture;' (p. 316) here however we fear he is venturing a little too far into groundless theory. In other states of the body, digitalis does not appear to be diuretic. (p. 317.) Broom, artichokes, and bohea tea, are cursorily mentioned; opium more favourably; and certainly the effect of this powerful medicine in diabetes would lead

us to expect benefit from it in many dropsical cases. Tapping and scarifications have been observed to alter the nature of the urinary coagulum; but the relief derived from these operations is scarcely ever permanent. The diet, our author thinks, has usually been too cordial and stimulant: where there is hyperuresis, he forbids fruit, and recommends soda water; with respect to thirst, he observes that it is rarely not to be gratified. In a species which seems to have been the hydrops (anasarca) cacotrophicus, in the crew of an Indiaman, the use of well fermented bread appears to have produced an almost instant cure, as an active diuretic.

Among tonics, Dr. Blackall prefers bark in young persons of sound constitution, steel in a vitiated habit, with a sallow complexion. Mercury, as tending to produce the appearance of a coagulum, or even of blood, is forbidden where this appearance already exists; but where the bile passes off by the kidneys, or where their discharge is only scanty and high coloured, mercury may be the most effectual remedy. Two grains of calomel every night seem to have converted an anasarca after scarlatina into a hydrocephalus internus; while on the other hand digitalis with topical bleeding has completely succeeded in curing a hydrocephalus. Mustard cataplasms quickened with oil of turpentine are recommended to be applied to the feet in this disease; and we agree with our author in thinking this remedy frequently preferable to a common blister for the relief of local affections.

A concise and comprehensive account of almost all that has been observed concerning the angina pectoris forms an Appendix to the volume. In general Dr. Blackall coincides in opinion with Dr. Parry respecting this disease, though he remarks that in some cases the term syncope appears to be inapplicable. In the treatment, he observes that its connexion with gout or rheumatism ought to be kept in view; he recommends drains, especially issues in the thighs, or rather setons about the chest; opium in large doses, and the immersion of the arm affected in hot water, have been found very useful palliatives.

We cannot agree with Dr. Blackall when he says (p. 259) that the ancients, 'not without much propriety, termed the natural secretion an *exhalation*,' and, (p. 264.) 'that the fine material, which lubricates internal surfaces, is not liquid, but something more volatilised.' We are utterly ignorant of any 'experiments of Mr. Hunter,' which can be said to prove so paradoxical a proposition. It is firmly established, by the most accurate physical experiments, that no aqueous vapour can exist under the atmospheric pressure at a temperature lower than 212° ; and there is no vital power which has hitherto been shown, or even suspected, to exist, that can supersede this law of inanimate nature, and communicate to a watery fluid the power of remaining permanently elastic

elastic at the ordinary temperature of the animal body. It is only in very elevated situations, where the barometer is always very low, that even Lavoisier's reasoning, respecting the possible existence of ether as a vapour within the body, could be at all admissible. We also entertain doubts of the propriety of the expressions, that the '*blood has been found inflamed*;' (p. ii.) '*a severe and long continued inflammation of the blood*, not connected with any *corresponding* affection of the internal parts.' (p. 117.) We strongly suspect that the improper use of the term '*inflammation*' has insensibly led the author to the reasoning which follows; 'can we suppose it possible that such a disposition as this should be merely general? Or, is the cellular membrane in these instances' of dropsy, '*the seat of an obscure inflammatory process*?' We see no difficulty in supposing the *possibility* that the disposition should be general, or that the blood may exhibit a buffy coat in dropsy as well as in inflammation; though we do not mean to insist on the probability of the fact.

Among the difficulties to be encountered by those who, like our author, are laudably employed in applying chemical tests to nosological distinctions, the complicated nature of the products to be examined, in a state of health, is one of the greatest. In illustration of this observation, we may adduce the analysis of the fluid which has been the principal subject of Dr. Blackall's investigations, from a paper of Professor Berzelius, published in the last volume of his Essays. Afh. III. 97.

Water	933.00	peculiar animal ex-	
Urea	30.10	tract and mucilage,	
Sulfate of potass	3.71	and urea in triple	
Sulfate of soda	3.16	combination	17.14
Muriate of soda	4.45	Neutral earthy phos-	
Phosphate of soda	2.94	phates	1.00
Muriate of ammonia . . .	1.50	Uric acid	1.00
Superphosphate of am-		Mucus of the bladder .	.32
monia	1.65	Silica03
Uncombined lactic acid,			
lactate of ammonia,			1000.00

These proportions are however liable to considerable variation, without actual disease; in particular the uric acid may be entirely wanting, when the perspiration has been abundant. Some of the substances here enumerated would present but little difficulty in the operation of such chemical agents as might be employed for any purpose independent of them; while it would be highly necessary to attend to the presence of others, the complicated constitution and diversified form of which have hitherto rendered their nature and properties extremely obscure and uncertain.

ART. XIV. *Sketch of the Sikhs: a singular Nation who inhabit the Provinces of the Penjab, between the Rivers Jumna and Indus.* By Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm. Large 8vo. pp. 200.

WE knew little of the *Seeks*, *Sic'hs*, or *Sikhs*,* as a distinct sect of Hindoos, till the short account of them which appeared in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches. Mr. Charles Wilkins found at Patna a college of this sect. Curiosity led him to ask permission to enter it; he was told it was a place of worship, open to all mankind; but he was desired, as a mark of respect, to take off his shoes. He was then conducted to a carpet, and seated in the midst of a numerous assembly. On each of six or seven low desks was placed a book. In the chancel was an altar covered with a cloth of gold, upon which was laid a round black shield over a sword. On a low desk near the altar was a large folio book. Notice was presently given that it was noon, the hour of divine service; on which the great book and desk were brought with some ceremony from the altar, and placed at the opposite extremity of the hall. An old man with a reverend silver beard, kneeling before the desk, attended by a person with a drum, and two or three others with cymbals, opened the book and chanted to the time given by them; at the conclusion of every verse, the congregation joined in a response with countenances exhibiting great marks of joy. It was a hymn in praise of the unity of the Deity. 'I was singularly delighted,' says Mr. Wilkins, 'with the gestures of the old man: I never saw a countenance so expressive of infelt joy, whilst he turned about from one to the other, as it were bespeaking their assents to those truths which his very soul seemed to be engaged in chanting forth.' A young man next stood forth, and pronounced with a loud voice and distinct accent a kind of litany, in which, at certain periods, all the people joined in a general response, saying *Wa Gooroo!* They prayed against temptation; for grace to do good; for the general good of mankind; and for a particular blessing on the *Seeks*. A short benediction from the old man, and an invitation to a friendly feast, terminated the ceremony.

Mr. Wilkins was informed that the founder of their faith was named *Nāneek Sah*, a Hindoo of the military caste, who lived about four hundred years ago in the Penjab; that the great book he had seen was of his composing; that this book informs them there is but one God, filling all space, and pervading all matter; and that he is to be worshipped and invoked; that there will be

* *Seek*, according to Mr. Wilkins, signifies 'learn thou.' '*Sikh* or *Sicsha*,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'is a Sanscrit word, which means a disciple or devoted follower.'

a day of retribution, when virtue will be rewarded and vice punished; that it commands universal toleration, and forbids disputes with those of other persuasions; that it denounces all crimes against society; inculcates the practice of all the virtues, but particularly universal philanthropy, and a general hospitality to strangers and travellers.

Such is the substance of Mr. Wilkins's information collected in 1781, which is calculated more to excite than to gratify curiosity. In 1805, General (now Sir John) Malcolm, while serving with the British army in the Penjab, collected materials for elucidating the 'history, manners and religion of the Sikhs.' His *Sketch* of this singular people appeared in the eleventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, and is now republished in a separate work. We here learn that Nanac Shah was born in 1469, at a small village in the province of Lahore, of the Cshatreya caste and Vedi tribe of Hindoos. Nanac was from his infancy inclined to devotion, and his indifference for all worldly concerns gave great uneasiness to his father, who endeavoured by every effort to divert his mind from the serious turn it had taken.

With a view to effect this object, he one day gave Nanac a sum of money to purchase salt at one village in order to sell it at another; in the hope of enticing him to business by allowing him to taste the sweets of commercial profit. Nanac was pleased with the scheme, took the money, and proceeded, accompanied by a servant of the name of Balaj of the tribe of Sandhu, towards the village where he was to make his purchase. He happened, however, on the road, to fall in with some fakirs, (holy mendicants,) with whom he wished to commence a conversation; but they were so weak from want of victuals, which they had not tasted for three days, that they could only reply to the observations of Nanac, by bending their heads, and other civil signs of acquiescence. Nanac, affected by their situation, said to his companion with emotion, "my father has sent me to deal in salt with a view to profit; but the gain of this world is unstable and profitless; my wish is to relieve these poor men, and to obtain that gain which is permanent and eternal." His companion replied, "thy resolution is good; do not delay its execution." Nanac immediately distributed his money among the hungry fakirs, who, after they had gained strength from the refreshment which it obtained them, entered into a long discourse with him on the unity of God, with which he was much delighted; he returned next day to his father, who demanded what profit he had made. "I have fed the poor," said Nanac, "and have obtained that gain for you which will endure for ever." As the father happened to have little value for the species of wealth which the son had acquired, he was enraged at having his money so fruitlessly wasted, abused poor Nanac, and even struck him; nor could the mild representations of Nanac save her brother from the violence of parental resentment.

The superstitions of his countrymen had, however, raised up for

Nanac a powerful protector against the ill-usage of his father. While yet a youth, and tending the cattle in the fields, he fell asleep; and as the meridian sun shone full on his face, a large black snake, raising itself from the ground, interposed its broad hood between Nanac and its rays. The chief of the district witnessed this unequivocal sign of his future greatness, and having overheard Calu punishing his son, chid him severely, and interdicted him from ever lifting his hand against him. Anxious, however, to fix him in some worldly occupation, the father prevailed on his son-in-law Jayram to admit him into partnership in his business, which was that of a grain-factor. He attended at the granary for some time; but his heart was still bent on its first object.

‘One morning, as he sat in a contemplative posture, a holy Mahomedan fakir approached and exclaimed, “Oh Nanac! upon what are thy thoughts employed? Quit such occupations, that thou mayest obtain the inheritance of eternal wealth.” Nanac is said to have started up at this exclamation; and, after looking for a moment in the face of the fakir, he fell into a trance, from which he had no sooner recovered, than he immediately distributed every thing in the granary among the poor; and after this act, proceeded with loud shouts out of the gates of the city, and running into a pool of water, remained there three days; during which some writers assert, he had an interview with the prophet Elias, from whom he learnt all earthly sciences.’

From this period he began to practise all the austerities of a holy man, travelled to the different Hindoo places of pilgrimage, and visited the temple of Mecca. A celebrated musician of the name of Merdana was the companion and partaker of the adventures of this errant devotee. ‘Poor Merdana, who had some of the propensities of Sancho, and preferred warm houses and good meals to deserts and starvation, was constantly in trouble, and more than once had his form changed into that of a sheep, and of several other animals.’ Not so his master, who resisted all the temptations thrown in his way.* To Mahomedans as well as Hindoos, he held forth the same doctrine, earnestly entreating both to abjure the errors into which they had fallen, and to revert to that great and original tenet, the Unity of the Deity. He preached before the Emperor Baber, who was so pleased with him as to offer him an ample maintenance, which he declined on the ground of a full

* It is impossible to read this part of the story, without adverting to the singular coincidence between the adventures of Nanac, and those of Apollonius of Tyana, who had also his Merdana, in the person of a simple squire and buffoon, named Damis. The sober sense of the west quickly reduced the pretensions of this miracle-monger to their just level; and even in India, the hot-bed of credulity and imposture, it is sufficiently manifest, that if the institutes of Nanac had not, at an early period, assumed a cast wholly military, as little would now be heard of him as of the thousand other juggling fakirs and yogees who have, from time to time, aspired to notoriety by the extravagance of their devotions.

confidence in him who provided for all, and from whom alone a truly religious man could receive favour or reward. After traveling over the greater part of India, Persia, and Arabia, every where inculcating the doctrine of the unity, he died at Kirtipur, and was buried near the bank of the river Ravi, which has since overflowed his tomb. 'Kirtipur continues a place of religious resort and worship; and a small piece of Nanac's garment is exhibited to pilgrims as a sacred relic, at his Dharma Sálá, or temple.'

In the fabulous account of Nanac's life and travels, enough appears to warrant the conclusion 'that he was a man of more than common genius;' and we think that Sir John Malcolm, in the following passage, has formed a pretty correct estimate of the object of his life, and the means he took to accomplish it.

'Born in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Mahommed and the idolatrous worship of the Hindus appeared to touch, and at a moment when both these tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity towards each other, his great aim was to blend those jarring elements in peaceful union; and he only endeavoured to effect this purpose through the means of mild persuasion. His wish was to recal both Mahommedans and Hindus to an exclusive attention to that sublimest of all principles, which inculcates devotion to God, and peace towards man. He had to combat the furious bigotry of the one, and the deep-rooted superstition of the other; but he attempted to overcome all obstacles by the force of reason and humanity: and we cannot have a more convincing proof of the general character of that doctrine which he taught, and the inoffensive light in which it was viewed, than the knowledge that its success did not rouse the bigotry of the intolerant and tyrannical Mahomedan government under which he lived.'

Arjunmal, the fifth in succession as chief of the Seiks in their spiritual character, was less fortunate, having met his death from the hands of the Mahommedans; on which occasion this peaceable and inoffensive sect took to arms under Har Govind, his son, and from that moment an irreconcilable hatred sprung up between the followers of Nanac and those of Mahommed. Gúrú Govind, the grandson of Har Govind, whose father had also been murdered, called upon his followers to 'graft the resolute courage of the soldier on the enthusiastic faith of the devotee, to swear eternal war against the cruel and haughty Mahommedans, and to devote themselves to *steel*, as the only means of obtaining every blessing which this world, or that to come, could afford.' Nanac had carefully abstained from all interference with the civil institutions of the Hindoos; but his more daring successor, Gúrú Govind, found them so much at variance with the plans of his lofty ambition, as to determine at once to break in pieces those fetters in which

the Hindoos had been so long manacled, to make converts from all castes and tribes, and to open to men of the lowest condition the prospect of worldly wealth and glory; to level the Brahmin with the Sudra; to make all Sikhs equal; and to let their advancement depend solely on their own exertions. To rouse their vanity he changed their name from Sikh to Sing, or *lion*, an honourable distinction assumed by the Rajapnts, the first military class of Hindoos. 'The disciples of Govind were required to devote themselves to arms; always to have *steel* about them in some shape or other; to wear a blue dress; to allow their hair to grow; to exclaim, when they meet each other, *Wa! Guruji ká khalsah! Wa! Guruji ki fitteh!* Success to the state of the Gúru! Victory attend the Gúru!'

The neighbouring Rajas having made war on the Sikhs, applied to the Emperor Aurungzeb for assistance. He sent his son for the purpose of subduing them. 'At the prince's approach,' says Govind, 'every body was struck with terror. Unable to comprehend the ways of the eternal, several deserted me and fled, and took refuge in the lofty mountains.' He then denounces every misery that this world can bring, and all the pains and horrors of the next, on those who desert their Gúru or spiritual leader. 'The man who does this shall neither have child nor offspring; his aged parents shall die in grief and sorrow, and he shall perish like a dog, and be thrown into hell to lament.' His followers fought desperately against superior forces; his mother and his two children were taken prisoners and inhumanly massacred, his son was slain in battle, and Govind, overwhelmed by numbers, fled from Cham-kour, and sunk under his misfortunes.

A prophecy had limited the number of spiritual guides to ten; and Gúru Govind, being the tenth in succession, was the last acknowledged ruler. But a devoted follower and friend of his, named Banda, taking advantage of the confusion which ensued on the death of Aurungzeb in 1707, established the union of the Sikhs under his banners. Having subdued all the petty chiefs in his neighbourhood, he attacked Foudjar Khan, governor of Sarhind, the man most abhorred by the Sikhs, as the murderer of the infant children of Gúru Govind. The Sikhs fought with that desperation which a spirit of revenge usually inspires. The Khan fell, with most of his army; his wife and children were put to death together with a great part of the inhabitants of Sarhind; the mosques were destroyed or polluted; the carcasses of the dead dug up and exposed to be devoured by beasts of prey. In a word, the whole country between the Setlej and the Jumna was subdued by the Sikhs. To stop the career of these merciless invaders, which threatened the empire of Hindostan, several armies were sent against them; and at length Banda was overcome, and fled with the

the most devoted of his followers to the fortress of Lóhgaḍ, where he was surrounded and starved into a surrender. Banda and the chiefs were sent to Delhi, where, after being treated with every kind of obloquy and insult, they were put to death by the most excruciating tortures. 'Banda,' says a Mahomedan writer, 'was at last produced, his son being seated in his lap. His father was ordered to cut his throat, which he did without uttering one word. Being then brought nearer the magistrate's tribunal, the latter ordered his flesh to be torn off with red hot pincers, and it was in those moments he expired.'

From this period the Sikhs were persecuted by the Mahomedans with unrelenting severity. An edict was issued ordering all who professed the religion of Nanac to be put to death; 'a reward was offered for the head of every Sikh, and every Hindoo was ordered to shave off his hair on pain of death.' Those who escaped fled to the mountains to the north-east of the Penjab, and were scarcely heard of for a period of thirty years, when Nádir Shah invaded India. On this event, the peaceable inhabitants of the Penjab, who retired with their property to the same mountains to escape the rapacity of the Persian, were plundered by the Sikhs: the defeat of the rear of Nádir Shah's army, encumbered with spoil, added to their wealth; and at the death of this extraordinary man, taking advantage of the confusion into which the provinces of Lahore and Cabul were thrown, and of the weak state to which the empire of Hindostan was reduced, the Sikhs became daily more bold, and thousands hastened 'to join a standard under which robbery was made sacred, and to plunder was to be pious.' They extended their ravages over most of the provinces of the Penjab; repossessed themselves of the holy city of Amritsar; subdued a considerable part of the Duab of Ravi and Jalcudra, and got possession of many of the countries which they now enjoy, and from which the united forces of the Affghans and the Mahrattas, have in vain endeavoured to expel them. When unable to stand a general action, they invariably 'retreated to impenetrable mountains, and the moment they saw an advantage, rushed again into the plains with renewed vigour and recruited numbers.' Their determined courage, added to the enthusiasm of religion, has hitherto baffled every attempt to crush them. It is probable, however, that the failure is rather to be ascribed to the decline of the house of Timur than to the combined valour of the Sikhs. So far, indeed, is there at present any thing like union among them, that quarrels are regularly transmitted from father to son; every village is an object of dispute among themselves; and the title to the supremacy is contested between the nearest relations. Scindia, with his French brigades, not only checked their inroads, but made all the chiefs to the southward of the Setlej his tributaries. Sir J. Malcolm

states, that when Lord Lake, in 1805, pursued Holkar into the Penjab, the condition of the Sikhs was found weak and distracted in a degree that could hardly have been imagined; they were wholly destitute of union, 'and every shadow of that concord which once formed the strength of the nation, seemed to be extinguished.' The whole country is in fact under the government of a number of petty chiefs. These, however, on extraordinary occasions, assemble in a grand national council at the holy city of Amritsar. On this solemn occasion all private animosities cease; every personal feeling is sacrificed to the public good, and nothing is thought of but the interests of the religious commonwealth established by Nanac.

This national council, called the *Gúrú-matá*, is convened by the Acalis,* or immortals, 'who, under the double character of fanatic priests and desperate soldiers, have usurped the sole direction of all religious affairs at Amritsar, and are consequently leading men in the council held at that sacred place.' The cause of one is the cause of all, and no Sikh can offend this powerful body with impunity. When the chiefs are seated, the great book is opened as described by Mr. Wilkins. After the prayers and music have ceased, and the holy cakes of wheat, butter and sugar have been broken and distributed, in commemoration of the command of Nanac to eat and give others to eat, the Acalis exclaim, 'Sirdars, this is a *Gúrú-matá*. The sacred Grant'h is betwixt us; let us swear by our scripture to forget all internal disputes, and to be united;' after this they proceed to settle the business of the general assembly.

The principal chiefs of the Sikhs are descendants of Hindoos. The Mahomedans who have become Sikhs are not allowed to attain power; those who retain their faith and inhabit their territories are very numerous, but invariably poor, despised and oppressed. The lower class of Sikhs are more happy; the tyranny of one chief towards his people would infallibly drive them to seek the protection of a rival chief. The ruling power is entitled to one half of the produce of the land, the farmer to the other half; but the chief generally remits a part of his share; the ryot is treated with great indulgence. They have no written code for the administration of justice. Disputes about property are settled among the heads of the village by the arbitration of five persons, the ancient mode throughout India.

The Sikhs have the Hindoo cast of countenance, are as brave, as active, and more robust, than the Mahrattas; they are bold and rough in their address, and invariably converse in a loud tone of voice. 'A Sikh,' says Sir J. Malcolm, 'bawls a secret in your ear.' He adds, 'they are more open and sincere than the Mahrattas.'

* From the Sanscrit privative *a* and *cal*, death—never-dying.

tas, and less rude and savage than the Affghans: the soldiers are all horsemen, 'they are without polish, but neither destitute of sincerity nor attachment.' The character of the merchant and the ryot is pretty nearly the same; all indeed wear *steel*; and all are prompt to use it when required. A Sikh chief upwards of one hundred years of age was introduced to Lord Lake, who, pleased with the manliness of his address, and the independence of his sentiments, told him he would grant him any favour he chose to ask. 'I am glad of it,' said the old man; 'then march away with your army from my village, which will otherwise be destroyed.' Meeting two officers at the door in going away, he laid his hands on their breasts, exclaiming, 'Brothers, where were you born, and where are you at this moment?' and instantly retired.

The great objects of Nanac seem to have been to restore the Hindoo religion to its ancient purity,* and to make all Sikhs equal as to rights, but preserving most of the institutions of Brahma. Gurú Govind, the tenth spiritual leader in succession, gave a new character to the religion and institutions of the sect, and by the complete abolition of all distinction of castes, destroyed at one blow the whole system of the civil and religious polity of the Hindoos. 'The Brahmin, the Chsatrya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra,' he said, 'would, like *pawn*, (betle-leaf,) *chunam*, (lime,) *supari*, (areca nut,) and *khat*, (catechu,) become all of one colour when well chewed.'

This narrative of Sir John Malcolm is interesting in many points of view. It proves that the Hindoos are by no means so unchangeable in their religious tenets and civil institutions as is generally supposed, when a set of fanatics could so completely succeed in overturning both; and it holds out a hope that, by a proper management of the Brahmins and pundits, the inhuman and impolitic division of the people into castes, that fatal spell which palsies all exertion, might be dissolved, without which all attempts to improve their condition must be fruitless. It also shews us what kind of people are interposed between our possessions and the Persians on the one hand, and the Affghans and Mahrattas on the other; and it appears to us, that, united under a wise prince, the Sikhs would prove, on that side of India, an invincible barrier against any enemy that might attempt the invasion of the British territories in Hindostan.

* Sir J. Malcolm informs us how this is to be understood—'The most ancient Hindoos do not appear to have paid adoration to idols; but though they adored God, they worshipped the Sun and Elements.'—p. 147.

ART. XV. *The Bridal of Triermain, or, the Vale of St. John.* Edinburgh; John Ballantyne & Co. London; Longman & Co. 1813. 12mo. pp. 233.

THIS poem, which is ushered to the world in a form the most unassuming, is distinguished by excellencies of no ordinary rank. We are informed, in the preface, that three fragments, written in imitation of living poets, were inserted in the Edinburgh Annual Register for the year 1809; and that, as they attracted somewhat more attention than the author anticipated, he was induced to complete one of them, and to present it as a separate publication.

It requires but little discrimination to discover that the prototypes of these beautiful pictures are Scott, Crabbe, and Moore. The imitations of the two latter are given as they appeared in the Edinburgh Annual Register: the fragment which bears the image of the northern minstrel is expanded to the tale which we now introduce to the acquaintance of our readers.

There is one peculiarity by which these imitations are distinguished. To say nothing of the more obvious and common exertions of the mimetic art, it must have been observed of those more perfect specimens of imitation, in which not the style merely, but the spirit of the original author's composition, the train of his sentiments, and his characteristic habits of thinking, have been successfully embodied, that the effect has been produced, first by judiciously selecting the peculiarities of his style and sentiments, and then by amplifying and exaggerating them. It is the same, perhaps, in every department of art. The nature which is sung by the poet, and portrayed by the painter, is not simple nature, but nature *embellished*. The intellectual mimic, if we may be allowed the expression, while he faithfully seizes the qualities that are characteristic of his model, seldom fails to vary their *degree*: his sentiments are considerably overcharged, and the singularities of his composition are either pushed to extravagance, or introduced with unsparing profusion. The author of the *Bridal of Triermain* has happily found means to vary and improve the principle on which hitherto such imitations have been framed. There is nothing overcharged in his sentiments; nothing exaggerated in his diction. The pictures which he has drawn are not caricatures. He has chosen such subjects as would have been selected by the authors themselves whom he imitates, and we offer them no offence when we say that they could not themselves have illuminated those subjects with sentiments more poetical, or have expressed those sentiments in language more peculiarly their own.

We shall pass over the song written after the manner of Moore.

It

It is distinguished by all his elegance of conception, and all his airiness and flow of versification; and indeed it is precisely such as at some future period he may himself indite, when maturer years, and a corrected taste, have taught him that the lyre of the poet should be strung to other themes than the ephemeral strife of party politics, the imputed weaknesses of the great, or the pollution of vulgar sensuality.

But we cannot refrain from noticing somewhat more particularly the imitation of the poet of Mûston. Its title is the *POACHER*; a character Mr. Crabbe would have delighted to draw, uniting, as it does, all those qualities of poverty, misery, and profligacy, which he portrays with unexampled felicity; and in the delineation of it, the author has given us specimens of almost all the merits and defects of the master whom he copies. The character and scenery are seen with the eye, and drawn with the skill of the original artist. There is the same force, and truth, and minuteness of description; the same selection and compression of language, generally powerful, though sometimes quaint and familiar; the same delight in dwelling on the realities, and the painful realities of life; the same propensity to quibble and antithesis, by which Crabbe has sometimes relieved, but oftener, perhaps, degraded some of his most gloomy delineations.

The lines in which the history of the 'Poacher' is given, possess great excellence independent of every collateral consideration; as a specimen of Mr. Crabbe's style of composition, they leave nothing to be desired.

' That ruffian, whom true men avoid and dread,
Whom bruisers, poachers, smugglers, call Black Ned,
Was Edward Mansell once;—the lightest heart,
That ever played on holiday his part!
The leader he in every Christmas game,
The harvest feast grew blither when he came,
And liveliest on the chords the bow did glance,
When Edward named the tune and led the dance.
Kind was his heart, his passions quick and strong,
Hearty his laugh, and jovial was his song;
And if he loved a gun, his father swore,
" 'Twas but a trick of youth, would soon be o'er,
Himself had done the same, some thirty years before."

' But he, whose humours spurn law's awful yoke,
Must herd with those by whom law's bonds are broke,
The common dread of justice soon allies
The clown, who robs the warren or excise,
With sterner felons train'd to act more dread,
Even with the wretch by whom his fellow bled.

Then,—

Then,—as in plagues the foul contagions pass,
 Leavening and festering the corrupted mass,—
 Guilt leagues with guilt, while mutual motives draw,
 Their hope impunity, their fear the law;
 Their foes, their friends, their rendezvous the same,
 Till the revenue baulk'd, or pilfer'd game,
 Flesh the young culprit, and example leads
 To darker villainy, and direr deeds.

• Wild howl'd the wind the forest glades along,
 And oft the owl renew'd her dismal song;
 Around the spot where erst he felt the wound,
 Red William's spectre walked his midnight round.
 When o'er the swamp he cast his blighting look,
 From the green marshes of the stagnant brook
 The bitter's sullen shout the edges shook!
 The waning moon, with storm-presaging gleam,
 Now gave and now withheld her doubtful beam;
 The old Oak stoop'd his arms, then flung them high,
 Bellowing and groaning to the troubled sky—
 'Twas then, that, couch'd amid the brushwood sere,
 In Malwood-walk young Mansell watch'd the deer:
 The fattest buck received his deadly shot—
 The watchful keeper heard, and sought the spot.
 Stout were their hearts, and stubborn was their strife,
 O'erpower'd at length the outlaw drew his knife!
 Next morn a corpse was found upon the fell—
 The rest his waking agony may tell!—p. 228.

Our more immediate concern, however, is with the poem that occupies the larger part of the volume now before us. It is written, as we have already mentioned, in the style of Mr. Walter Scott; and if *in magnis voluisse sat est*, the author, whatever may be the merits of his work, has earned the meed at which he aspires. To attempt a *serious* imitation of the most popular living poet; and this imitation, not a short fragment, in which all his peculiarities might with comparatively little difficulty be concentrated, but a long and complete work; with plot, character, and machinery entirely new; and with no manner of resemblance therefore to a *parody* on any production of the original author;—this must be acknowledged an attempt of no timid daring, and it cannot be uninteresting to inquire if its execution be equal to the boldness of its conception.

In endeavouring to appreciate the merits of the copy, we may perhaps derive some benefit from impressing on our recollection the features of the original. We have had more than one opportunity of examining the characteristics of Mr. Scott's poetry, and of analysing the causes that have most powerfully contributed to his
 • unprecedented

unprecedented popularity. We shall not resume them in detail; but a few of them are naturally brought back to our recollection by the subject more immediately before us.

Mr. Scott is the poet of chivalry. His imagination, it is evident, has been, in a peculiar manner, captivated with that extraordinary system of manners which prevailed throughout Europe after the destruction of the Roman empire; and if we may form any conjecture of the acquirements of the author from his works, he is profoundly acquainted with those circumstances that distinguished the ages of romance and chivalry, on one hand, from the classical times of antiquity, and on the other from the institutions and observances of modern days. To this period he has generally assigned the events which he has celebrated; and when, in any instance, he has chosen a date somewhat less remote, the whole picture takes its tone and colouring from an age long since gone by. Upon what principle Mr. Scott has adopted the system of his poetry; whether he has selected it from some preconceived opinion of its excellence and probable popularity, or whether, as is more likely, he has been guided by the bent of his own genius and studies, it would be superfluous to inquire: and it seems to us to possess advantages which may in some measure account for the celebrity he at present possesses, and sufficient too, if prudently managed, to secure to that celebrity a permanence proportioned to its extent.

The machinery and manners and characters of classical antiquity, it has been observed, are but ill suited to the purposes of modern poetry. In the development of personages whose features are minutely known, and in the management of fictitious beings whose attributes are precisely defined, the imagination of the poet and his audience is both cramped and embarrassed. The whole scene, and the actors in it, are distinctly seen, as under the blaze of a broad sunshine; and any exertion of fancy, even in the description of beings and events merely imaginary, if not authorised by the great masters who have fixed immutably the nature of their qualities, is apt to offend, nearly as much as the violation of historical truth: nor can we conceal from ourselves that the playmates of our infancy unavoidably excite associations altogether destructive of the dignified and the sublime. In the regions of romance, as they have been termed, are to be found mines of which the riches are still unexplored. That mixture of ferocity and courtesy, of religion and barbarity, of rudeness and hospitality, of enthusiastic love, inflexible honour and extravagant enterprize, which distinguished the manners of the middle ages, opens the happiest and most fertile sources of poetical invention. In the construction of the fable, the poet is enabled to unite the charms of fiction and truth; and
his

his machinery, consisting of beings whose powers are undetermined, and whose forms are dimly seen, is calculated to excite emotions eminently suited to the purposes of poetry—emotions that will not rise at the bidding of all the choir of Olympus.

The characteristics of Mr. Scott's mind, his natural talents, and acquired endowments, must have insured to him the palm in this department of poetry. His imagination is peculiarly captivated with the splendid and heroic; with events that touch the extreme verge of probability; with characters that delight in achievements requiring the most sublime exertions of virtue and valour, it is fertile in its resources, and bold and sustained and excursive in its flight. His learning, though not various, is profound. We do not, indeed, discover in his writings any very intimate acquaintance with the authors of ancient Greece; but he is perfectly versant with the events and manners of the times in which his scenes are laid. He has thus been enabled to give the most powerful and captivating interest, and the animation of reality to the pictures of his pencil. He never seems to draw from the stores of his memory. He is not a narrator of events of which he has heard or read; but appearing to have lived in the times to which his transactions relate, he presents to us individuals whom he personally knew, and events that passed before his eyes the instant before he began to describe them. These talents, natural and acquired, co-operating with perfect good sense, and a discriminating attention to the prevailing taste of his age and nation, may in some measure account for his success in the department of poetry he has chosen, and for the eminence to which he has attained by the suffrages of his country.

With all those splendid qualifications, it is impossible to conceal from ourselves, that in the construction of his stories, Mr. Scott is by no means entitled to unqualified praise. Whether a failure to please, in him whose end is pleasure, arises from inattention or incapacity, it is not perhaps very necessary to inquire; but although the sentence to be pronounced by the critic on the work itself will in both cases be the same, his sentiments, so far as they concern the author, will be materially different. If our estimate of Mr. Scott's genius and learning is accurate, or approaches to accuracy, he could not have failed in the formation of the design of his piece, provided he had bestowed the requisite degree of attention on the accomplishment of an object, which no human talent, without much painful labour and unwearied attention, can possibly perform: and of this we are the more persuaded when we observe with what felicity he has finished certain individual and insulated compartments of all his pictures. The fact however is unquestionable, that his fables will not bear the test of a
minute

minute examination. He has brought forward the incidents as they arose in his mind, and as they contributed to increase the picturesque effect of that part of the general design which for the time engaged his attention, without inquiring how they were connected the one with the other, and still less how they bore on the catastrophe, which ultimately they ought either to promote or retard. We shall afterwards have occasion to speak of beauties which, if they do not conceal or compensate the deficiency of which we complain, diminish at least its effect: in this general survey of his character we cannot however forbear to notice the imperfection of his designs, or to regret that, shaking off his impatience of mental labour, he has not given to his works one great additional beauty; without which they never can obtain the tribute of unqualified approbation.

In the conception and display of his characters, Mr. Scott, we think, is entitled to decided and unequivocal praise. If a greater degree of attention had been devoted to the formation of his fables, the peculiar features of his *dramatis personæ* would sometimes have been more accurately and fully brought out, and sometimes perhaps have been presented to us in more interesting points of view: but the characters themselves are vividly impressed on his imagination; they are delineated with a master's hand, and are strikingly discriminated, not only in their bolder outlines but in their more minute and evanescent shades. He has certainly not introduced us to some of the scenes and modes of life, in the delineation of which consists the peculiar excellence of various contemporary poets. But we cannot doubt that the pencil which depicted the family of Douglas, the morbid sensibility of Wilfred, and the marauders of the Highlands and Border, is equally qualified to draw, with perfect truth, the quiet of domestic privacy, and the vices and misery of a modern peasant; and that scenes and characters like these are not to be found on Mr. Scott's canvass, only because they did not come within the compass of his design. He selected the characters that existed in the ages where his story is laid; and if his personages are accurately discriminated from each other, and convey to us a faithful impression of the opinions and habits that prevailed in the period whose manners are to be delineated, his duty to himself and the public is fulfilled.

In the display of sentiment and mental emotion, the nature and the subjects of Mr. Scott's poetry afforded him advantages of which we are not quite sure that he has availed himself to their fullest extent. He might, perhaps, oftener have interwoven with the scene which he brings so brilliantly to our eye the description of affections, sometimes enthusiastic and sometimes gentle, naturally suggested by the situations in which his characters are placed, and arising out
of

of the immediate business of the moment. He has sometimes, indeed, gratified his readers with a fortunate combination of imagery and sentiment; and in these passages the simplicity with which the sentiment is expressed, the honour and virtue which it implies and excites, and above all, the relief it gives to the picture which it illuminates, afford a delight which we cannot forbear regretting that he has not more frequently found occasions of administering. There is one striking merit, however, which it would be injustice to pass over. He is never betrayed into a thought or expression capable of wounding the most fastidious delicacy; and while every adventure that he celebrates, and every sentiment that he breathes, is calculated to inspire the youth of one sex with feelings of patriotism, there is not to be found in all his works a word which the sternest moralist would proscribe as tending to sully the purity of those of the other.

It would be superfluous to dwell upon his unrivalled talent for description. On one hand, he takes care not to diminish the interest and effect by the weakness of the sketch, or by giving a general and indeterminate outline of his picture. He equally avoids, on the other, the opposite mischief of crowding and overwhelming minuteness. He is uniformly the spectator of the scenes, not one of the actors in it. Placing himself on a point from which the whole landscape lies in perspective before him, he at once depicts its most striking features; whether he has to describe motion or repose, he seizes the circumstances which give to the scene its character and interest, throwing into the shade, or but slightly glancing at, those of minor importance.

We have scarcely left ourselves room to speak of Mr. Scott's diction. It is frequently negligent, but almost always powerful. Some of his most remarkable expressions he is supposed to have borrowed from popular authors who have preceded him, and to have interwoven those with the language that is peculiarly his own. We do not accede to this opinion. The extent of his reading has given him a controul over the whole region of poetry; its language, ancient and modern, is familiar to his heart and mind; and when he adopts a mode of expression that perhaps may be traced to others, it is not by an effort of recollection, but because that language naturally suggests itself to him which is best calculated to convey his thoughts. This is not plagiarism: it might as well be said that he who has uniformly lived in good society, and speaks its language, is a servile imitator of the accomplished and the great.

It is now time to recur to the poem which has furnished us with an apology for these remarks. Like several of Mr. Scott's earlier works, it consists of two parts; a series of introductions sung by the

the minstrel to his mistress, and the lay itself, by the melody of which he attempts to gain her heart, and in the course of which he wins her hand.

The Introduction, though by no means destitute of beauties, is decidedly inferior to the Poem. Its plan or conception—and we have already told the whole of it—is neither very ingenious nor very striking. The best passages are those in which the author adheres most strictly to his original: in those which are composed without having his eyes fixed on his model, there is a sort of affectation and straining at humour, that will probably excite some feeling of disappointment, either because the effort is not altogether successful, or because it does not perfectly harmonize with the tone and colouring of the whole piece.

The 'Bridal' itself is purely a tale of chivalry; a tale of 'Britain's isle and Arthur's days, when midnight fairies daunced the maze.' The author never gives us a glance of ordinary life, or of ordinary personages. From the splendid court of Arthur, we are conveyed to the halls of enchantment; and of course are introduced to a system of manners, perfectly decided and appropriate, but altogether remote from those of this vulgar world; the purpose of the poet, whose betrothed is peculiarly enamoured of the extravagancies of chivalry, being to tell

'Of errant knight and damozelle,
Of the dread knot a wizard tied,
In punishment of maiden's pride;
In notes of marvel and of fear,
That best may charm romantic ear.'—p. 11.

The era chosen is the eleventh century. Sir Roland de Vaux, Lord of Triermain, having returned from an inroad on the Scottish Border, sees in a dream a lady of matchless beauty, wearing an eagle's feather in her hair, who transports him with the unrivalled tones of her harp. This powerful baron, as we learn from the introductory lines, to be afterwards quoted, required in the fair one whom he should honour with his hand, an assemblage of qualities that appears to us rather unreasonable even in those high days, profuse as they are known to have been of perfections now unattainable. His resolution however was not more inflexible than that of any mere modern youth; for he decrees that his nightly visitant, of whom at this time he could know nothing but that she looked and sung like an angel, if of mortal mould, shall be his bride. To resolve the question of her mortality, (for none of his attendants had either seen or heard her,) he dispatches his squire to a celebrated sage, on the banks of the river Eamont, by whom it was to be determined whether he was to set out in quest of a
mistress

mistress of flesh and blood, or whether he had been visited by a delightful but tantalizing dream.

The fair intruder, we learn from this high authority, was 'of middle earth;' but she was in the *five hundred and second year of her age*. So long a period had elapsed since Arthur, the amorous and warlike, wandering from Carlisle one April morning, in his usual spirit of adventure, found himself in the delightful valley of St. John in Cumberland. In the middle of the valley he descried, for the first time, a castle pranked in all the pomp of feudal dignity and power; the drawbridge was up, and the gate closely barred; but the castle itself seemed untenanted. The gloom and silence of the scene quailed his heart for a moment; at last he blew his bugle; the portcullis slowly rose, the drawbridge was let down, and the king entered, grasping his sword, and prepared for the worst that might befall him. The warrior's alarm and precautions were equally unnecessary. Nor giant, nor dragon, nor fiend, was in that enchanted abode. In a stately hall, lighted by hundreds of tapers, he was greeted by a band of ladies, beautiful and blooming, who welcomed the flower of Christendom to their retreat. Before he recovered from his astonishment at this strange adventure, the queen of the mansion entered the hall, and Arthur became perfectly reconciled to his thralldom. The feast and song went round—the night wore apace—the lady became more tender and the knight less timid—and long ere the morning dawned he had forgot both his subjects and his queen.

But this delirium could not last for ever: and Arthur insensibly awoke to the recollection of his duties as a husband and a sovereign. To console his seductress, (the daughter of a genie and a mortal princess,) who was affectionately attached to him, he assured her that if the pledge of their loves should prove a boy, he would bestow a kingdom on him; if a maiden, that his knights, the boast of England and of Europe, should hold a joust for a summer's day, and the damsel should be the prize of the victor. This magnificent promise did not sooth his lovesick fair. She attempted by an artifice to detain or destroy him, but Arthur found means to pass the drawbridge; and on looking back to gaze on the castle, the scene of his happiness and remorse, he discovered only the solitary streamlet, and a knoll fenced with fragments of rock.

After the lapse of fifteen years, Arthur, when holding his annual court at Penrith during the feast of Whitsuntide, the solemnities of which are described with singular felicity, was astonished by the appearance of a lady heading a band of maidens, who, lighting from her palfrey, advanced to the king, and knelt at his feet. She was drest like a huntress, the eagle plume waved conspicuous in her hair, and she bore a resemblance, but softened and refined by the gentle-

ness of mortality, to the sublime and magic beauty of his genie love of St. John's valley. Our readers will have anticipated that this was the daughter of the British king. He welcomed her as became the pink of courtesy; and mindful of his promise before her birth, which had been communicated to her by her mother, he summoned the nobles and knights of his court.

'Up! up! each knight of gallant crest!
Take buckler, spear, and brand!
He, that to-day shall bear him best,
Shall win my Gyneth's hand.
And Arthur's daughter, when a bride,
Shall bring a noble dower;
Both fair Strath-Clyde, and Reged wide,
And Carlisle town and tower.'—p. 77.

The call was readily obeyed; and the bravest of his red-cross champions arrayed themselves for the combat.

Before the tourney commenced, the king began to repent him of the rashness of his vow, and besought his daughter to drop her warder if the strife should become serious. The haughty fair one rejected the application with scorn, and the combat proceeded. We are unwilling to interrupt our narrative by inserting the preparations for the combat, and the description of its pomp and circumstances, which are conceived in the best manner of the author's original, seizing the prominent parts of the picture, and detailing them with the united beauty of Mr. Scott's vigour of language, and the march and richness of the late Thomas Warton's versification. The contention waxed hot, to the horror of the king, and somewhat (we are ashamed to add) to the delight of the beautiful arbitress of the fray, in whose veins ran an infusion of the unearthly blood of her maternal grandfather. Twenty of the Round Table lay weltering in their gore. But Arthur had resigned his truncheon, and was bound by his vow. At last the young and accomplished Vanoc, the favourite of his royal master, and descended from the race of Merlin, fell at the feet of Gyneth, and dyed her sandals with his heart's blood. A peal of thunder was instantly heard, and the form of Merlin, appearing in the middle of the lists, announced to the assembly that the unrelenting princess must sleep in St. John's valley, unseen by mortal eye, until her preternatural slumber should be broken by a warrior as brave and renowned in arms as a knight of King Arthur's Table. The reluctant somnolent struggled to avert this penance, but all her efforts were unavailing.

'Slow the dark fringed eye-lids fall,
Curtaining each azure ball,
Slowly as on summer eves
Violets fold their dusky leaves.

The weighty baton of command
 Now bears down her sinking hand,
 On her shoulder droops her head;
 Net of pearl and golden thread,
 Bursting, gave her locks to flow
 O'er her arm and breast of snow.
 And so lovely seemed she there,
 Spell-bound in her ivory chair,
 That her angry sire repenting,
 Craved stern Merlin for relenting,
 And the champions, for her sake,
 Would again the contest wake;
 Till, in necromantic night,
 Gyneth vanished from their sight.'—p. 99.

The doom of the wizard hardly differed from a sentence of never-ending slumber. While the tradition was new, many hardy adventurers attempted to break the spell. Of these, some had been unable to discover the castle; some had been deterred by its unknown but formidable dangers; and others who entered the outer gate had been seen no more. The adventure had therefore been long since abandoned, as beyond the reach of mortal achievement.

Such was the tale told by the ancient sage to De Vaux's messenger; and it inspired the warrior, as our readers must ere this have conjectured, with a desire of returning the visit which the fair slumberer had made him in his dream. The remainder of the story may be told in two words. After months of watching in the valley, the scenery of which, seen by the light of the summer and autumnal moon, is described with an aerial touch to which we cannot do justice, he discovers the enchanted castle. Undismayed by the perils which are mysteriously announced in an inscription on the gate, he forces an entrance. In traversing the extensive building he encountered dangers, and was wooed by blandishments, that must have appalled or melted every heart but that of the fated deliverer of Gyneth. Terror, avarice, pleasure, and ambition, under their appropriate emblems, by turns assail him; but the knight was not to be diverted from his purpose. He discovered and entered the bower of the entranced beauty. Her appearance and dress agreed with the description given to De Vaux's squire.

'Still upon her garment's hem,
 Vanoc's blood form'd a purple gem,
 And the warder of command
 Cumbered still her sleeping hand;
 Still her dark locks dishevelled flow
 From net of pearl o'er breast of snow;
 And so fair the slumberer seems,
 That De Vaux impeached his dreams,

Vapid

Vapid all and void of might,
Hiding half her charms from sight.'—p. 195.

The warrior kneeling beside her kissed her hand, which instantly dropt the warder; the castle fell to pieces in a thunder shock; and De Vaux found himself in the open valley, and the princess reclined in his arms.

The tale, of which we have now given the summary, is told in three cantos, two of which are employed in narrating the vision of De Vaux, and the misfortunes of his future bride, and the third in celebrating his prowess and perils, and her final rescue from the enchantment. Our readers will have formed their own opinion of its qualities. Its merit, in our estimation, consists in its perfect simplicity, and in interweaving the refinements of modern times with the peculiarities of the ancient metrical romance, which are in no respect violated. In point of interest, the first and second cantos are superior to the third. One event naturally arises out of that which precedes it, and the eye is delighted and dazzled with a series of moving pictures, each of them remarkable for its individual splendour, and all contributing, more or less directly, to produce the ultimate result. The third canto is less profuse of incident, and somewhat more monotonous in its effect. This, we conceive, will be the impression on the first perusal of the poem. When we have leisure to mark the merits of the composition, and to separate them from the progress of the events, we are disposed to think that the extraordinary beauty of the description will nearly compensate for the defect we have already noticed.

But it is not from the fable that an adequate notion of the merits of this singular work can be formed. We have already spoken of it as an imitation of Mr. Scott's style of composition; and if we were compelled to make the general approbation more precise and specific, we should say, that if it be inferior in vigour to some of his productions, it equals or surpasses them in elegance and beauty; that it is more uniformly tender, and far less infected with the unnatural prodigies and coarsenesses of the earlier romancers. In estimating its merits, however, we should forget that it is offered as an imitation. The diction undoubtedly reminds us of a rhythm and cadence we have heard before; but the sentiments, descriptions, and characters have qualities that are native and unborrowed.

In his sentiments the author has avoided the slight deficiency we ventured to ascribe to his prototype. The pictures of pure description are perpetually illuminated with reflections that bring out their colouring and increase their moral effect: these reflections are suggested by the scene, produced without effort, and expressed with unaffected simplicity. The descriptions are spirited and striking, possessing an airiness suited to the mythology and manners of the

times, though restrained by correct taste. Among the characters, many of which are such as we expect to find in this department of poetry, it is impossible not to distinguish that of Arthur; in which, identifying himself with his original, the author has contrived to unite the valour of the hero, the courtesy and dignity of the monarch, and the amiable weaknesses of an ordinary mortal, and thus to present to us the express lineaments of the flower of chivalry.

The first stanza of the poem enumerates the qualities that must be found in De Vaux's destined bride. The lines are eminently beautiful; but when our readers recollect some of the events which we have detailed, they may be inclined to doubt whether the enamoured baron, before completing his union with Gyneth, has not found it necessary to lower his original pretensions.

Where is the maiden of mortal strain,
That may match with the Baron of Triermain?
She must be lovely and constant and kind,
Holy and pure and humble of mind,
Blithe of cheer and gentle of mood,
Courteous and generous and noble of blood—
Lovely as the sun's first ray,
When it breaks the clouds of an April day;
Constant and true as the widow'd dove,
Kind as a minstrel that sings of love;
Pure as the fountain in rocky cave,
Where never sun-beam kiss'd the wave;
Humble as maiden that loves in vain,
Holy as hermit's vesper strain;
Gentle as breeze that but whispers and dies,
Yet blithe as the light leaves that dance in its sighs,
Courteous as monarch the morn he is crown'd,
Generous as spring-dews that bless the glad ground;
Noble her blood as the currents that met
In the veins of the noblest Plantagenet—
Such must her form be, her mood and her strain,
That shall match with Sir Roland of Triermain.—p. 15.

We are strongly tempted to insert some of the stanzas in which the drama is opened; to gratify our readers with the anxiety of De Vaux after being visited by the phantom, with the rapid journey of his squire from Triermain to the banks of Eamont, which is executed in the peculiar style of Mr. Scott, and above all with the first appearance of the hermit on whose response so many important events depended. But we cannot insert all the passages that are illustrative of the poem; and we must now suppose the hermit's tale commenced, and Arthur set out on his romantic adventure.

With toil the king his way pursued
By lonely Threlkeld's waste and wood,

Till

Till on his course obliquely shone
 The narrow valley of SAINT JOHN,
 Down sloping to the western sky,
 Where lingering sun-beams love to lie.
 Right glad to feel those beams again,
 The king drew up his charger's rein;
 With gauntlet raised he screen'd his sight,
 As dazzled with the level light,
 And, from beneath his glove of mail,
 Scann'd at his ease the lovely vale,
 While 'gainst the sun his armour bright
 Gleam'd ruddy like the beacon's light.'—p. 31.

He descried the turrets of the castle, the effect of which and the surrounding scenery on the gallant monarch, we have already mentioned.

XV.

' The ivory bugle's golden tip
 Twice touched the monarch's manly lip,
 And twice his hand withdrew.
 Think not but Arthur's heart was good!
 His shield was cross'd by the blessed rood,
 Had a pagan host before him stood,
 He had charged them through and through;
 Yet the silence of that ancient place
 Sunk on his heart, and he paused a space
 Ere yet his horn he blew.'—p. 36.

He blew his horn, however; and entering the hall of the castle, discovered that his momentary apprehensions were groundless, for

' — the cressets, which odours flung aloft,
 Shewed, by their yellow light and soft,
 A band of damsels fair!
 Onward they came, like summer wave
 That dances to the shore;
 An hundred voices welcome gave,
 And welcome o'er and o'er!
 An hundred lovely hands assail
 The bucklers of the monarch's mail,
 And busy laboured to unhasp
 Rivet of steel and iron clasp;
 One wrapp'd him in a mantle fair,
 And one flung odours on his hair;
 His short curled ringlets one smooth'd down,
 One wreathed them with a myrtle crown.
 A bride upon her wedding day
 Was tended ne'er by troop so gay.'—p. 39.

The frolic croud and their employments, are thus described—

' Then o'er him mimic chains they fling,
 Framed of the fairest flowers of spring.
 While some their gentle force unite,
 Onward to drag the wondering knight,
 Some, bolder, urge his pace with blows,
 Dealt with the lily or the rose.
 Behind him were in triumph borne
 The warlike arms he late had worn.
 Four of the train combined to rear
 The terrors of Tintadgel's spear;
 Two, laughing at their lack of strength,
 Dragg'd Caliburn in cumbrous length;
 One, while she aped a martial stride,
 Placed on her brows the helmet's pride,
 Then scream'd, 'twixt laughter and surprise,
 To feel its depth o'erwhelm her eyes.'—p. 41.

The queen's approach being perceived, silence was commanded by the eldest lady of the train, a veteran between seventeen and eighteen. It is impossible to omit the description of her entrance, in which, as well as in the contrasted enumeration of the levities of her attendants, the author, we think, has had in his recollection Gray's celebrated description of the power of harmony to produce all the graces of motion in the body. The banquet immediately follows, and the commencement of the intimacy between Arthur and Guendolen. The passage is somewhat long; but we must be permitted to insert the whole of it, for on the opinion that may be formed even of these two stanzas we are willing to hazard the justness of the eulogium we have bestowed on the general poetical merit of this little work.

XIX.

' The attributes of these high days
 Now only live in minstrel lays;
 For Nature, now exhausted, still
 Was then profuse of good and ill.
 Strength was gigantic, valour high,
 And wisdom soar'd beyond the sky,
 And beauty had such matchless beam,
 As lights not now a lover's dream.
 Yet, e'en in that romantic age,
 Ne'er were such charms by mortal seen
 As Arthur's dazzled eyes engage,
 When forth on that enchanted stage,
 With glittering train of maid and page,
 Advanced the castle's Queen.
 While up the hall she slowly passed,
 Her dark eye on the king she cast,
 That flash'd expression strong;

The

The longer dwelt that lingering look,
 Her cheek the livelier colour took,
 And scarce the shame-faced king could brook
 The gaze that lasted long.
 A sage, who had that look espied,
 Where kindling passion strove with pride,
 Had whispered, " Prince, beware !
 From the chafed tyger rend the prey,
 Rush on the lion when at bay,
 Bar the fell dragon's blighted way,
 But shun that lovely snare !"

XX.

At once, that inward strife suppress'd,
 The dame approached her warlike guest,
 With greeting in that fair degree,
 Where female pride and courtesy
 Are blended with such passing art
 As awes at once and charms the heart.
 A courtly welcome first she gave,
 Then of his goodness 'gan to crave
 Construction fair and true
 Of her light maidens' idle mirth,
 Who drew from lonely glens their birth,
 Nor knew to pay to stranger worth
 And dignity their due ;
 And then she pray'd that he would rest
 That night her castle's honoured guest.
 The monarch meetly thanks express'd ;
 The banquet rose at her behest,
 With lay and tale, and laugh and jest,
 Apace the evening flew.—p. 43.

The scene in which Arthur, sated with his lawless love, and awake at last to a sense of his duties, announces his immediate departure, is managed, we think, with uncommon skill and delicacy.

' Three summer months had scantily flown,
 When Arthur, in embarrassed tone,
 Spoke of his liegemen and his throne ;
 Said, all too long had been his stay,
 And duties, which a monarch sway,
 Duties, unknown to humbler men,
 Must tear her knight from Guendolen.—
 She listened silently the while,
 Her mood expressed in bitter smile ;
 Beneath her-eye must Arthur quail,
 And oft resume the unfinished tale,
 Confessing, by his downcast eye,
 The wrong he sought to justify.

He ceased. A moment mute she gazed,
 And then her looks to heaven she raised;
 One palm her temples veiled, to hide
 The tear that sprung in spite of pride;
 The other for an instant pressed
 The foldings of her silken vest!—p. 61.

He then attempts to sooth her, but in vain, by the promise we have already mentioned in the narrative; and he resolves on his departure. It is thus described, and in the appearance and bearing of Guendolen our readers will not fail to observe those minute circumstances by which Arthur, fifteen years afterwards, was enabled to recognize her daughter and his.

VIII.

‘ At dawn of morn, ere on the brake
 His matins did a warbler make,
 Or stirr’d his wing to brush away
 A single dew-drop from the spray,
 Ere yet a sunbeam, through the mist,
 The castle battlements had kiss’d,
 The gates revolve, the draw-bridge falls,
 And Arthur sallies from the walls.
 Doff’d his soft garb of Persia’s loom,
 And steel from spur to helmet-plume,
 His Lybian steed full proudly trode,
 And joyful neighed beneath his load.
 The monarch gave a passing sigh
 To penitence and pleasures by,
 When, lo! to his astonished ken
 Appeared the form of Guendolen.

IX.

Beyond the outmost wall she stood,
 Attired like huntress of the wood;
 Sandall’d her feet, her ancles bare,
 And eagle plumage decked her hair;
 Firm was her look, her bearing bold,
 And in her hand a cup of gold.
 “Thou goest!” she said, “and ne’er again
 Must we two meet, in joy or pain.
 Full fain would I this hour delay,
 Though weak the wish—yet, wilt thou stay?—
 No! thou look’st forward. Still attend,—
 Part we like lover and like friend.”—
 She raised the cup—“Not this the juice
 The sluggish vines of earth produce;
 Pledge we, at parting, in the draught
 Which Genii love!”—she said, and quaff’d;
 And strange unwonted lustres fly
 From her flushed cheek and sparkling eye.—p. 64.

The

The whole description of Arthur's court is picturesque and appropriate: but we can only make room for the opening of it, with which we must conclude our extracts.

XII.

' For this the King, with pomp and pride,
Held solemn court at Whitsuntide,
And summoned prince and peer,
All who owed homage for their land,
Or who craved knighthood from his hand,
Or who had succour to demand,
To come from far and near.
At such high tide, were glee and game
Mingled with feats of martial fame,
For many a stranger champion came
In lists to break a spear;
And not a knight of Arthur's host,
Save that he trod some foreign coast,
But at this feast of Pentecost
Before him must appear.—
Ah, Minstrels! when the Table Round
Arose, with all its warriors crowned,
There was a theme for bards to sound
In triumph to their string!
Five hundred years are past and gone,
But Time shall draw his dying groan,
Ere he behold the British throne
Begirt with such a ring!—p. 71.

The fate of this work must depend on its own merits; for it is not borne up by any of the adventitious circumstances that frequently contribute to literary success. It is ushered into the world, as we have already observed, in the most modest guise; and the author, we believe, is entirely unknown. Should it fail altogether of a favourable reception, we shall be disposed to abate something of the indignation which we have occasionally expressed against the extravagant gaudiness of modern publications, and imagine that there are readers whose suffrages are not to be obtained by a work without a name.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

A GENERAL view of the Agriculture of Derbyshire. By John Farey, sen. Vol. II. 8vo. 15s.

ANTIQUITIES.

Londina Illustrata, Nos. XIII. and XIV. 2s. each. Large paper, 10s. 6d.
The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland. Part III. Small paper, 10s. 6d. Large paper, 16s. Proofs on India paper, 1l. 11s. 6d.

Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. By John Britton, Esq. Parts XXX. and XXXI. 10s. 6d. Large paper, 16s. each.

ARCHITECTURE.

Observations on the Design for the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, as executed in the year 1812, accompanied by plans, elevation, and sections of the same, engraved on 18 plates. By Benjamin Wyatt, F. S. A. Architect. Royal 4to. 2l. 15s.

The Third Part of Wild's Cathedrals. 4to. 3l. 3s.

The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius; with an Introduction, containing the rise and progress of Architecture among the Greeks. By William Wilkins, M. A. F. A. S. Imp. 4to. 3l. 3s. Royal 4to. 6l. 6s.

A Narrative of the Building, and Description of the Construction of the Edystone Lighthouse. By John Smeaton, Civil Engineer, F. R. S. Folio. 6l. 6s.

Architecture, Antiquities, and Landscape Scenery of Hindoostan. By T. and W. Daniell. Part III. Imp. 4to. 3l. 3s.

Two Letters to a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, on the subject of Gothic Architecture. By the Rev. J. Haggitt. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d.

ARTS, USEFUL.

A Circle of the Mechanical Arts. By Thomas Martin, Civil Engineer. 4to. 2l.

ARTS, FINE.

Liber Veritatis. Parts I., II., III., and IV., containing 78 prints of volume the third and last of a collection of Three Hundred Prints, after the original designs of Claude Le Lorain, in the collections of Earl Spencer, R. P. Knight, Esq. &c. &c. executed by Richard Carlour in the manner and taste of the drawings; and accompanied by a description of each print, together with the names of those for whom, and of the places for which, the original pictures were first painted; taken from the hand writing of Claude himself on the back of each drawing, and of the present possessors of many of the original pictures.

The Death of Nelson, painted by Davis, and engraved by Bromley.

A print from Wilkie's celebrated picture called the Blind Fidler, exhibited in 1806.

Picturesque Views and Scenery of Norway, Part III. containing ten plates, carefully engraved and coloured closely to imitate the original drawings, with appropriate letter-press descriptions of a collection of prints, containing views of the principal sea-port towns from the Naze (by the route of Christiana,) to the magnificent pass of the Swinesund; including nearly the whole of the western and southern parts of the country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Anecdotes of Literature and scarce Books. By the Rev. William Beloe, Translator of Herodotus, &c. with a general index. 6 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.

The Amateur's Pocket Companion, or a Description of scarce and valuable engraved British Portraits, alphabetically arranged. By John Morris Flindall. 8vo. 7s.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Nelson. By Robert Southey. 2 vols. 8vo. 10s.

Memoirs of the Private and Public life of Wm. Penn. By Thomas Clarkson, M. A. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.

The Life of Luther, with an Account of the early progress of the Reformation: By Alexander Bower. 8vo. 12s.

Literary Anecdotes of the 18th century. By John Nicols, F.S.A. Vol. VII. (Index) delivered gratis to purchasers of the preceding volumes.

Memoirs of John Horne Tooke, interspersed with original Documents. By Alexander Stephens, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.

CHEMISTRY.

Elements of Agricultural Chemistry, in a course of lectures for the Board of Agriculture. By Sir Humphrey Davy, LL. D. F. R. S. 4to. 2l. 2.

CLASSICS.

T. Livii Patavini Historiarum ab urbe condita libra qui supersunt xxxv. Recensuit et notis ad usum Scholarum accommodatis illustravit J. B. L. Crevier, Emeritus Rhetoricæ Professor in Collegio Dormano-Bellovaco Universitatis Parisiensis. 6 tom. 8vo. 2l. 2s. in boards.

Euripidis Heraclidæ, ex recensione Petri Elmsley, A. M. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Lucretii Opera, ad exemplar G. Wakefield, A. B. cum ejusdem notis, commentariis, indicibus, fideliter excusa: Adjectæ sunt editionum quinque, in quibus principis Ferreindi, Lectiones variantes omnes; ut et integræ Ricardi Bentleii annotationes, illustrationes, conjecturæ, ex ipsius autographo, in Museo Britannico conservato. 4 vols. 8vo. small paper, 3l. 3s. large paper, 6l. 6s.

COMMERCE.

Oriental Commerce, with a Geographical Description of the East Indies, China and Japan. By William Milburn, Esq. 2 vols. 4to. 6l. 6s.

The Question as to the East India Company's Monopoly examined. 8vo. 4s.

A Plan for Increasing the Export of British Manufactures to India. With coloured plates. 4s.

Four Letters respecting the Claims of the East India Company for a Renewal of their exclusive Privileges. 1s.

Observations relative to the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter. By Richard Twining, jun. 1s.

The Expediency maintained of continuing the System by which the Trade and Government of India, and the British Trade with China, are now regulated. By Robert Grant, Esq. 8vo. 12s.

A Letter to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, President of the Board of Control, on the pending Discussion, relative to the Renewal of the Charter. By Thomas W. Plummer, Merchant of London.

Considerations on Colonial Policy, with relation to the Renewal of the Charter. By an Impartial Observer. 3s. 6d.

Abstract of the East India Question. By C. Maclean, M. D. 1s.

The Letters of Probus on the East India Question. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Debates at the General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, on the 17th and 23d Feb. 1813, on a Petition to Parliament. 3s.

Further Papers respecting the Negotiation for the Renewal of the East India Company's exclusive Privileges. 1s.

The Timber Dealer's Guide. By A. Crocker. Oblong 8vo. 4s. 6d. bound.

DRAMA.

DRAMA.

The Plays of William Shakespeare: with the Corrections and Illustrations of various Commentators. To which are added, Notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens. Revised and augmented by Isaac Reed. With a glossarial Index. With a Portrait and other illustrative Prints. A new edition, carefully corrected, being the sixth. 21 vols. 8vo. 12l. 12s. royal paper, 18l. 18s.

A Touch at the Times, a Comedy. By R. F. Jameson, Esq. 2s. 6d.

The Renegade, a Historical Drama. By F. Reynolds, Esq. 2s. 6d.

Look at Home, a Play. By Mr. Eyre. 2s. 6d.

A West Wind, or Off for London, a Farce. By William Wastell. 2s.

The entire Works of the late Mrs. Cowley, consisting of Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Pieces, with some account of her Life, in 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.

Education, a Comedy. By T. Morton, Esq. 2s. 6d.

Count Julian, a Tragedy. 8vo. 5s. 6d. boards.

EDUCATION.

Letters on the Management and Economy of a School. By the Rev. Samuel Catlow, 12mo. 2s. 6d.

The Germany and Agricola of Tacitus, with English notes, for the use of schools. By E. H. Barker, Trinity College, Cambridge. 12mo. 6s.

La Feuille des Gens du Monde, par Madame de Genlis. 8vo. 12s.

A Visit to the London Museum. By John Ripplingham. 2 vols. 18mo. 5s.

Studies in History. Vol. I. containing the History of Greece, in a series of essays, accompanied with Reflections, references to Original Authorities, and Historical Exercises for Youth. By the Rev. J. Morell. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Letter to Lord Grenville on the Education of the East India Company's Civil Servants. By the Rev. F. R. Malthus, A. M. &c. 2s.

Portefeuille Sentimental, ou Mélange de Prose et de Poésie. 12mo. prix 5s. boards.

The Madras School Grammar, or the New System reduced to Questions and Answers. By G. Reynolds, master of the Lambeth School. 1s.

Delectus Sententiarum Græcarum, ad usum Tironum Accommodatus; cum Notulis et Lexico. On the Plan of Dr. Valpy's Latin Delectus. 12mo. 3s. bound.

Fancy's Wreath, being a collection of original Fables and Allegorical Tales, in prose and verse, for the instruction and amusement of youth. By Miss Elliott. 8s.

GEOGRAPHY.

An Historical Sketch of Moscow, with 12 coloured imitations of Drawings. 2l. 2s.

Geography, in Question and Answer; containing a Description of the Boundaries and Situation of the different Countries in the World, with the principal Towns, Rivers, Mountains, &c. By two Ladies. 28mo. 3s. bound in red.

A Statistical Chart of Europe; uniting all that is most interesting in the Geography of that distinguished portion of the Globe. By T. Myers, A. M. 5s. 6d.

A Letter to William King, LL. D. Principal of St. Mary Hall in Oxford; containing a particular account of the Reasonable Riot at Oxford, in February 1747. By Richard Blacow, A. M. F. R. S. Canon of Windsor. 1s. 6d.

LAW.

Trial of F. Kendall, A. B. on the Charge of setting Fire to Sidney College. 1s.

A Digest

A Digest of the Penal Laws of England relative to Offences against God and Religion. By J. F. Archbold, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. Part I. 16s.

A Cursory Inquiry into the Expediency of repealing the Annuity Act, and raising the legal Rate of Interest. By Edward Burtenshaw Sugden, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. 2s. 6d.

The Two last Pleadings of M. T. Cicero against Caius Verres. Translated and illustrated by Notes. By Charles Kelsall, Esq. 8vo. 15s.

The Magistrate's Manual; or, a Summary of the Duties and Powers of a Justice of the Peace: carefully compiled from the best Authorities. With Extracts from adjudged Cases and the Statutes to the 54 George III. inclusive. By William Toone, Attorney at Law. 8vo. 12s.

MATHEMATICS.

Bja Gannita; or, the Algebra of the Hindoos. By E. Strachey. 4to. 15s.

A Treatise on the Motion of Rockets. To which is added, an Essay on Naval Gunnery, in Theory and Practice. By William Moore, of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. 8vo. 10s.

MEDICINE.

An Appendix to an Inquiry into the present State of Medical Surgery. By the late Thomas Kirkland, M.D. Taken from his MSS. With a Preface, Introduction, &c. by James Kirkland, Surgeon-Apothecary to the Tower. 8vo. 6s.

Outlines of the Anatomy of the Human Body, in its sound and diseased State. By Alexander Monro, jun. M.D. F.R.S. Ed. 4 vols. 8vo. 31. 3s.

A Treatise on the Diseases and Organic Lesions of the Heart. By J. N. Corvissart, M.D. Translated from the French, by C. H. Hebb, Esq. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Description of the Retreat, an Institution near York, for Insane Persons of the Society of Friends; containing an account of the Origin and Progress of the Establishment, and the Modes of Treatment, medical and moral. Also a Statement of Cases. By Samuel Tuke.

Tracts on the Gout, &c. By T. Sutton, M.D. 8vo. 7s.

Cases of two extraordinary Polypi removed from the Nose. By Thomas Whateley. 2s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Inquiry concerning the Author of the Letters of Junius; in which it is proved, by internal as well as by direct and satisfactory evidence, that they were written by the late Right Hon. Edmund Burke. By John Roche, Esq. an Honorary Member, and formerly President of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh, &c. Carr, Paternoster-row, Carpenter, Old Bond-street.

The History of Fiction, being an account of the prose Fictions that have been successively presented to the world from the earliest Greek Romances to those of the present day. Handsomely printed in 3 vols. post 8vo. uniformly with Mr. Ellis's Early English Romances. *In the Press.*

The Works of Damiano, Rio-Lopez, and Salvio, on the Game of Chess. Translated by J. H. Sarratt. 12s.

Facts tending to prove that General Lee was the author of Junius. By T. Girdlestone, M.D. 7s. 6d.

A Complete Discovery of the Author of Junius. 5s.

A Series of Popular Essays. By Elizabeth Hamilton. 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 4s. boards.

The Cambridge University Calendar for 1813. Foolscep, 5s. 6d. boards.

An Essay towards a Theory of Apparitions. By John Ferriar, M.D. crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. boards.

The Ladies' Companion for Visiting the Poor. 12mo. 2s. sewed.

Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, second Series, Vol. II. 8vo. 14s. boards.

Tableau

Tableau de la Littérature Française pendant le dix-huitième Siècle. 8vo. Prix 7s.

Remarks on Sir William Drummond's *Œdipus Judaicus*. By George D'Oyly, B. D. Part II. 8vo. 6s.

The Oxford University Calendar for 1813. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

MILITARY AND NAVAL.

A Course of Instruction for the Use of the Royal Engineer Department. By Major Pasley. Vol. I. 15s.

The Principles and Practice of Naval and Military Courts Martial. By J. M'Arthur, LL.D. Fourth edition, 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

The Philosophy of Nature; or, the Influence of Scenery on the Mind and Heart. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 18s.

NATURAL HISTORY.

The Transactions of the Linnean Society of London, Vol. XI. Part I. 4to. 1l. 1s.

An Essay on the Philosophy, Study, and Use of Natural History. By Charles Fothergill. Foolscep, 8s. boards.

A Dictionary of Botanical Terms, for the Use of Students in Botany. By James Lee. 8vo. 4s. boards.

A Precursor to an Exposé on Forest Trees and Timber, &c. By Captain Laymans. 8vo. 5s. 6d. sewed.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

A Lecture in proof of the Systems of Planets being inhabited. By James Mitchell, M.A. 1s. 6d.

A Treatise on New Philosophical Instruments. By David Brewster, LL.D. 8vo. 18s. boards.

NOVELS.

The Wife; or, Caroline Herbert. By the late Mrs. Cooper. 2 vols. 10s. Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry, with Illustrations. By Mary Leadbetter. Second Part. 6s.

Sketches of Character; or Specimens of Real Life: a Novel. Second edition. 3 vols. 12mo. 15s. boards.

Iwanowna; or, the Maid of Moscow. By the author of the Officer's Widow and Family, Clergyman's Widow, Daughter-in-law, &c. 2 vols. 12mo. 12s.

The Heart and the Fancy; or, Valsinore: a Tale. By Miss Bengier. 2 vols. 12mo. 12s. boards.

Demetrius, a Russian Romance. 2 vols. 12mo. 10s. 6d. boards.

The Sisters, a Domestic Tale. 12mo. 5s. boards.

Farrandino, a Continuation of Rinaldo Rinaldini. 2 vols. 12mo. 10s. 6d. boards.

It was Me, a Tale. By Me. 2 vols. 12mo. 10s. boards.

The Prior Claim, a Tale. 2 vols. 12mo. 9s. boards.

St. Leonard's Forest; or, the Child of Chance: a Novel. 2 vols. 12mo. 10s. boards.

Silvester Tramper's Travels through the Interior of South America. 12mo. 3s. 6d. boards.

PHILOLOGY.

Punctuation; or, an Attempt to facilitate the Art of Pointing. By S. Rousseau. 12mo. 5s. boards.

Observations

Observations on the Use of the Words Shall and Will. 12mo. 1s. 6d. sewed.

A Grammar of the Hindustani Language. By J. Shakespear. 4to. 1l. 1s.

POETRY.

The Nature of Things, a didascalical Poem, translated from the Latin of Titus Lucretius Carus, with Commentaries, and a Life of Epicurus. By Thomas Bushy, Mus. Doc. Cantab. 2 vols. royal 4to. 5l. 5s.

Minstrelsy of Erin; or, Poems, Lyrical, Pastoral, and Descriptive. By M. W. Hartstonge, Esq. Foolscap. 7s. 6d.

Collections from the Greek Anthology, and from the Poets of Greece. By the Rev. R. Bland. New edit. 8vo. 18s.

The Stranger's Visit, with other Minor Poems. By T. Mott. 12mo. 6s.

The Mourning Wreath, an elegiac Tribute to the Memory of the late Right Hon. Spencer Perceval. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A New Translation (in Rhyme) of Ovid's Metamorphoses, with the Latin Text. By T. Orger. Vol. I. 10s.

Pensive Pleasures; or, Miscellaneous Poems, interspersed with Sketches in Prose, on the Sources of Pensive Pleasure. By Mrs. Walter Spencer. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Queen's Wake, a Legendary Poem. By James Hogg, the Etrick Shepherd. 8vo. 12s. royal paper, 1l. 1s.

Contes des Fous, and other trifles in Verse. By the late John Bigge, Esq. F. S. A. With Notes, critical and explanatory. 9s.

A Metrical History of England; or, Recollections in Rhyme of the most prominent Features in our National Chronology, from the landing of Julius Cæsar to the commencement of the Regency in 1812. By T. F. Dibdin. 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.

Intercepted Letters; or, the Two-penny Post Bag; with some trifles reprinted from the Morning Chronicle. By Thomas Brown, jun. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Characteristics of Men, Manners, and Sentiments; or, the Voyage of Life, in ten Books. Second edition revised, with other Poems. By the Rev. David Lloyd. 8vo. 9s.

Equanimity; or, Death. By G. Watson, Esq. 4s.

The World before the Flood, a Poem. By James Montgomery. 8vo. 12s. boards.

Heath Blossoms. Foolscap, 4s. boards.

The Deserted Village School, a Poem. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

POLITICS.

Reasons for Colonizing the Island of Newfoundland. By W. Carson, M. D. 1s. 6d.

A Letter to the Members of Parliament on the Address of the Inhabitants of Newfoundland to the Prince Regent. By W. Carson, M. D. 1s. 6d.

Historical Sketches of Politics and Public Men for the Year 1812, (to be continued annually.) 8vo. 7s. boards.

A Short Account of the Representation of Scotland in the Parliament of Great Britain. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Anticipation of Marginal Notes on the Declaration of Government of the 9th of January, 1813, in the American National Intelligencer. 1s. 6d.

POLITICS.—POLITICAL ECONOMY.—CATHOLIC QUESTION.

Letters on the Disabilities of the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters, and on the Dangers apprehended from their Removal. By W. D. Evans, Esq. 8vo. 6s.

Protestant Union: Nos. I. to VI. Containing the Address, Resolutions, and Questions, &c. &c. to the English Roman Catholics. By the Protestant Union. 8vo. 6d. each.

A Letter

A Letter to the Earl of Fingal, by the Author of a Letter to Mr. Canning. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

A Letter addressed to the Inhabitants of Bristol, on the subject of the Petition against the Catholic Claims. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Observations on the Question, Whether Irish Roman Catholics are or are not at present entitled to universal Emancipation? 8vo. 2s.

A full and correct Report of the Debates in the House of Commons, on the Catholic Claims, on Thursday, Feb. 26—March 2, 1813. 8vo. 5s.

Letters addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Protestant Clergy of England, on the secret causes of the increase of the Catholics and Dissenters. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

The Warning Protest of an Irish Catholic. 8vo. 3s.

The Papistical Crisis, proving that the Catholic Claims cannot be conceded to, without endangering both the Monarchy and the Constitution, nor practicable without producing the worst of tyranny and slavery. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Catholic Emancipation, discussed and exploded, and reasons deduced which must peremptorily compel every thinking man in the kingdom to combat the emancipation of the Irish, who are of the Roman Catholic Church; in a series of Letters to Lord Grenville. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

An Inquiry into the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and present State, and the Management of the National Debt of Great Britain. By Robert Hamilton, LL.D. F. R. S. E. Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. 8vo. 6s.

Outlines of the Plan of Finance, stated by the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Committee of the whole House of Commons, on Wednesday, March 3, 1813, with a Copy of the Resolutions proposed by him to the Committee. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

The Case stated upon the Claims of the Opposition to public confidence; with some preliminary observations upon the state of the press and public opinion, in the commencement of the year 1813. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

An Appeal to the Nations of Europe against the Continental System. By Madame de Stael Holstein. 8vo. 4s.

A Letter to Sir Henry Parnell, Bart. in reply to his "Arguments and Plan for a commutation of Tythes in Ireland." 8vo. 1s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

A Reply to the Strictures of the Rev. Isaac Milner, D. D. Dean of Carlisle, &c. By Herbert Marsh, D. D. F. R. S. Margaret Professor of Divinity in Cambridge. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Lectures on the Pastoral Character; by the late George Campbell, D. D. Edited by James Fraser, D. D. Minister of Drumoak, Aberdeenshire. 8vo. 7s.

Lectures on Scripture Miracles. By W. B. Collyer, D. D. 8vo. 14s.

The Present State of the Established Church, pointing out certain operating Causes of Separation, and their Remedy. By the Rev. Joseph L'Oste, LL.B. 2s.

A Brief View of the State of the Colonies of Great Britain and of her Asiatic Empire, in respect to religious Instruction, prefaced by some Considerations on the National Duty of affording it. By Claudius Buchanan, D. D. 8vo. 6s.

Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before the time of Constantine the Great: or an enlarged View of the Ecclesiastical History of the first three Centuries; accompanied with copious illustrative Notes and References. Translated from the Latin of Mosheim. By Robert Studley Vidal, Esq. F. S. A. 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 1s.

Our Fathers in the Church our Example. A Sermon preached in the parish church

church of Halsted, Essex, at the Visitation of the Archdeacon of Middlesex. By the Rev. Jonathan Walton, M. A. 2s.

Two Sermons preached in the Churches of St. Peter and St. James, Colchester. By the Rev. W. Dealtry, B. D. F. R. S. 1s. 6d.

Observations on certain Passages of the Old Testament, cited in the Historical Books of the New Testament as Prophecies, and applied to events there recorded: in Answer to Paine's Age of Reason. Part III. 8vo. 7s.

Letter from a Field Officer at Madras, in the service of the East India Company, to a Member of the Board of Control, on the Conversion of the Hindoos. 2s. 6d.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Society called Quakers, within the Quarterly Meeting for London and Middlesex, against Thomas Foster, for openly professing their Primitive Doctrines concerning the Unity of God. 10s.

A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse. By W. Cunningham, Esq. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

An Exposition of the Doctrines, Practices, and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome. 12mo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

Evidences of Fundamental Truths. Part. I. By the Rev. J. T. Porter. 8vo. 5s. sewed.

A Common-Place Book, or Companion to the Old and New Testament. By J. Strutt. 8vo. 12s. boards.

Secret Thoughts of a Christian lately departed. 12mo. 4s. 6d. boards.

Biblia Sacra ita exacte translata, ut statim videatur quid refert unaquæque vox Textûs, quod nullus antea præstitit interpres, A. D. T. sumptibus autoris, et centum duntaxat. The first part, or Pentateuchus. 1 vol. 12mo. 12s. sewed.

Discourses on Universal Restitution. By John Prior Estlin, LL.D. 8vo. 7s.

A Concise History of the Jews. By the Rev. J. Hewlett, B. D. 12mo. 6s.

Sermons on various Important Subjects. By the Rev. Ralph Harrison. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Twenty-four additional Select Discourses. By the Rev. Uriel Harwood. A. M. Vol. II. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Course of Practical Sermons, expressly adapted to be read in Families. 8vo. 9s.

Christian Plea and liberal Apology for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Visits of Mercy. By the Rev. E. S. Eley. 12mo. 4s.

A Practical Treatise on the Holy Spirit. By the Rev. G. S. Faber, B. D. 8vo. 7s.

A Short and Familiar Exposition of the Collects of the Church of England. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

A Tour through Italy, exhibiting a View of its Scenery, its Antiquities, and its Monuments; particularly as they are objects of classical interest and elucidation: with an account of the present state of its cities and towns, and occasional observations on the recent spoliations of the French. By the Rev. John Chetwode Eustace. In 2 large vols. 4to. 5l. 5s. in boards.

Letters written in a Mahratta Camp, in 1809. By Thomas Duer Broughton, Esq. 4to. 2l. 8s.

History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea, Part III. from 1620 to 1688. By Capt. J. Burney. royal 4to. 2l. 2s.

Travels in the Morea, Albania, and other Parts of the Ottoman Empire. By F. C. Pouqueville, M. D. 4to. 2l. 2s.

Travels in Sweden during the Autumn of 1812. By Dr. Thompson, with maps, &c. 4to. 2l. 2s.

A Voyage round the World, between 1800 and 1806, a new edition in 4to. with numerous additions. By John Turnbull. 2l. 2s.

Oriental Memoirs, selected and abridged from a Series of Familiar Letters, written during seventeen years residence in India, and during four Voyages to India. By James Forbes, F.R.S. &c. 4 vols. 4to. with 94 engravings. 16l. 16s.

A Journal from London to St. Petersburg, by Way of Sweden. By George Green, Esq. 12mo. 7s. 6d. boards.

Voyage dans le Nord de L'Europe, with plates. By A. Lamotte. 4to. prix 2l. 2s. boards.

Letters relative to a Tour on the Continent in the Year 1812. By the Rev. C. F. A. Steinkopff. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Sicily and its Inhabitants, in 1809 and 10. By W. H. Thompson, Esq. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d. boards.

FRENCH PUBLICATIONS—*Recently Imported.*

ANNALES Originis magni Galliarum O., ou Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient de France. 8vo. br. fig. 1812. Paris. 1l. 1s.

Catteau, Tableau de la Mer Baltique, considérée sous les Rapports physiques, géographiques, historiques, et commerciaux. 2 vols. 8vo. br. belle carte. 1812. Paris. 1l. 8s.

Langlès, Monumens anciens et modernes de l'Hindostan, pet. fol. pap. vel. avec figures superbes par les premiers artistes. Livraisons 1 à 3. à 1l. 11s. 6d. chaque.

Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, tom. 1. 8vo. br. cartes. 15s.

Montgaillard, seconde Guerre de Pologne, ou Considérations sur la Paix publique du Continent, et sur l'Indépendance maritime de l'Europe. 8vo. br. Paris, 1812. 10s. 6d.

Progrès (des) la Puissance Russe, depuis son Origine jusqu'au commencement du Xixème siècle. 8vo. br. Paris. 14s.

Raymond, Tableau historique, géographique, militaire, et moral de l'Empire de Russie. 2 gros. vol. 8vo. br. cartes. 1812. Paris. 1l. 10s.

Delandine, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lyon, ou Notices sur leur Ancienneté, Auteurs, Objets, Caractère de leur Ecriture, &c. précédés de Notices sur les MSS. en général, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. br. 1812. Lyon. 2l. 2s.

Sur le Système continental, et sur ses rapports avec la Suède. 8vo. br. 1813. Londres. 4s.

Genlis (Mde. de) Les Bergères de Madian, ou la Jeunesse de Moyse, poème en prose en 6 chants, avec Notes historiques, &c. &c. 12mo. br. Londres. 4s.

Pigault Maubillareq, Isaure d'Aubigné, Imitation de l'Anglais. 4 vols. 12mo. br. Paris. 1812. 1l.

L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin; ou Observations sur les Mœurs et les Usages Parisiens au commencement du Xixème siècle. tom. 1. 8vo. br. fig. 1813. Paris. 12s.

Jay, le Glaneur, ou Essais de Nicolas Freeman, recueillis et publiés par lui. 8vo. br. Paris. 1812. 12s.

La Harpe, Lycée, ou Cours de Littérature ancienne et moderne. Nouv. edit. rev. corr. renfermée dans la partie littéraire, et précédée de la Vie de l'Auteur. Par Auger. 8 vols. 12mo. br. Paris. 2l. 10s.

Picard, son Théâtre. 6 vols. 8vo. br. Paris. 3l. 13s. 6d.

Barbier, Dissertations sur 60 Traductions de l'Imitation de J. C. et sur son Auteur. 12mo. br. Paris. 8s.

Burckhardt, Tables de la Lune. 4to. br. 1812. Paris. 15s.

Cuvier, Recherches sur les Ossements fossiles de Quadrupèdes, où l'on rétablit les Caractères de plusieurs Espèces d'Animaux, que les Révolutions du Globe paroissent avoir détruites. 4 vols. 4to. br. fig. 1812. Paris. 3l. 8s.

INDEX

TO THE

NINTH VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A.

- ACRE*, visit of Dr. Clarke to, 189—*anecdotes of Djezzar, Pacha of Acre*, 190, 192—*ruins of St. Andrew's church there*, 192.
- Aderbijan (Province)*, fertility of, 69.
- Air*, experiments to determine the resistance of, applied to military projectiles, 416, 417.
- Aktiar*, port of, its importance to Russia, 379.
- Alexandria*, masterly landing of the British troops at, 185.
- Alfieri's* tragedies, noble imitations of the Greek tragedy, 151.
- Algebra* of the Indians and Arabs, brief account of, 410—412. Of the Italians, 412.
- Allegorical* interpretation of the Scriptures proposed by Sir William Drummond, specimen of, 331, 332—his reasons for such mode of interpretation, 336—refutation thereof, 337—339.
- America*, deplorable condition of Scotch, Irish, and Welch emigrants, 284—probable cause of the recent captures by the Americans, 294.
- Amusements of La Valetta* described, 20—22.
- Angina pectoris*, treatment recommended for, 470.
- Anthropophagism*, sagacious remarks on, 436—438.
- Antiquities (Persian)*, brief notice of, 73, 74.
- Apollonius Rhodius*, Mr. Fox's opinion of, 325, 326—was copied by Virgil, *ib.*
- Apparitions*. See *Ferriar, Ghosts*.
- Arabs*, manners and dress of, 194.
- Arezzo*, treacherously betrayed by the Guelphs, 465.
- Aristophanes*, comedies of, translated, 139—remarks on the editors and commentators of Aristophanes, 140—difference between his comedy and that of modern times, 141, 142—estimate of the character of Aristophanes, 142, 143—and of the Athenians, 144—examination of Aristophanes' supposed antipathy to Socrates, Euripides, and Cleon, 145—148—observations on Mr. Cumberland's version of the *Clouds*, 149, 150—on the *Plutus* by Fielding, 150, 151—plan and fable of the *Frogs*, 151—Mr. Dunster's translation of it inferior to the former, *ib.*—Aristophanes imitated by Molière, and Foote, 153, 154—the *Wasps* successfully imitated by Racine, 154—and by Ben Jonson, in the 'Staple of the News,' 155—design of the *Ecclesiastusæ*, *ib.*—of the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, 156, 157—of the *Acharnians*, 158—of the *Peace*, *ib.*—extract from a chorus on the return of peace, 159—estimate of Aristophanes' real merits, 160, 161.
- Arnaud (Sophie)*, anecdotes of, 113.
- Artificial Memory*. See *Feinaigle, Grey, Memory*.

Assassination, increase of, in England, 425—of Cardinal Beatoun, 422—remarks on the conduct of Knox in that affair, *ib.* 426.

B.

Barzoni (M.) Li Romani nella Grecia, 39—former work of this author, 41—his present work typical, Italy being figured in Greece, the French in the Romans, &c. 41—outline of its plan, 41, 42—spirited portrait of Buonaparte, under the name of Tito Quinzio Flaminio, 43, 44—remarks on the misapplication of the author's talents, 44, 45.

Beatoun (Cardinal), assassination of, 422—remarks on Knox's conduct in this affair, 422—426.

Beauty, Persian ideas of, 77.

Bej Gunnit, or algebra of the Indians, account of, 410—412.

Benevento (Battle at), between Manfred, King of Naples, and Charles of Anjou, 448—451.

Billingsgate fish market, abusive monopoly of, exposed, 275, 276—impediments to the breaking of the combination of the fish salesmen there, 276—278.

Binomial theorem, complete demonstration of, in the case of fractional exponents, by Dr. Hutton, 403, 404.

Blackall (Dr.), observations on dropsies, 466—on the causes of dropsies, 467—his method of treating the disorder, 468, 469—medicines recommended by him, 469, 470—his opinion on angina pectoris, 470—analysis of the dropsical fluid, 471.

Black Sea, importance of to Russia, considered, 376—379.

Bravery of the British soldiers on their landing at Alexandria, 185.

Bridal of Triermain, a poem, 480—remarks on, 480, 481—extract from, 481—fable of the poem, 487—489—extracts from, with remarks, 492—497.

Britain has done little towards disabusing the people of the continent, 41—the situation of the British islands, peculiarly favourable for carrying on the fisheries, 265, 266—schemes for improving the British fisheries, with remarks, 290—293. See *Fisheries*.

Buonaparte, spirited portrait of his character, by M. Barzoni, 43, 44—his policy in keeping the people of Europe ignorant of passing events, 39, 40—designs of, on Persia, 83—sends an embassy to Persia, which is frustrated, 83—85—confirmation of the massacre at Jaffa by him, 205—proofs of his tyranny over the French press, and the minds of French writers, 367.

C.

Caleoon, or water-pipe, universally used in Persia, 78.

Canaanitish Nations, destruction of, proved to be reconcileable with the moral justice of God, 340—342.

Carnival at Malta, description of, 22, 23.

Castruccio, character and death of, 459, 460.

Character of the Maltese, remarks on, 18, 19—of Mr. Fox, 322, 323—of Mr. Wakefield, 318, 319.

Charles of Anjou, battle between, and Manfred King of Naples, 448—450—defeats Manfred, 450, 451—character of, 452—reflection on his

- his conduct to Conradin, 452, 453—his fleet destroyed and himself a fugitive, 453, 454—death, 454.
- Christianity*, the ablest defences of, produced in England, 31—peculiar intrepidity of Bishop Horsley, in bringing its doctrines into view, 32—in what manner it should be propagated in the east, 240, 241.
- Cicero*, character of, by Mr. Fox, 324.
- Circle*. Investigation of an approximate geometrical division of the circle, by Dr. Hutton, 404—on the quadrature of the circle, 405—407.
- Clarke* (Dr. E. D.) Travels in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land, 162—character of the author's style and manner, 163, 164—206—Constantinople, but little altered from what it anciently was, 165, 166—visit to the Seraglio, 166, 167—departure from Constantinople to the Dardanelles, 169—passage down the Hellespont, 170—Homer illustrated, *ib.*—observation on the general character of the topography of ancient Greece, 170, 171—discoveries of Dr. Clarke in the Troad, 173—the ruins of Palæo Kallifat, those of New Ilium, 174—ruins of Rhœteium, 175—examination of the real situations of the Xanthus and Simois, 176—178—simple manners of the Idæan peasants, 178, 179—beautiful appearance of Patmos, 180—present condition of the Greek peasantry, 182—amphibious inhabitants of the islands of Syme and Nizyrus, 183—ruins and sepulchral cave of Telmessus, 183, 184—arrival at Alexandria, 184.—description of the landing of the British troops there, 185, 186—visit to Acre, 190—character and anecdotes of Djezzar Pacha, 190—192—ruins at Acre, 192.—St. John the almsgiver, the patron of the Knights Hospitallers, *ib.*—ruins of a church at Sepphoury, 193—dress of the inhabitants of the Holy Land, 194—present state of Nazareth, *ib.*—the mount of Beatitudes, 195—notice of the Druses, 196—the hot baths of Tiberias, *ib.*—fertility of the Holy Land, 198—present state of Jerusalem, 199—the sepulchre of our Saviour ascertained, 199—202—arrival at Bethlehem and Jaffa, 204—confirmation of the account of the massacre at Jaffa by Buonaparte, 205—his exaggerated statements concerning Russia, disbelieved, 368, 369.
- Cleon*, Aristophanes' enmity to, examined, 146—148.
- Climate* of Persia, notice of, 60.
- Coffee* (*West Indian*) successfully introduced throughout the Levant, 27.
- Colman* (George) *Vagaries Vindicated*, 346—its design to vindicate the dulness and obscenity of his former work, 346—extracts and remarks on it, 347, 348.
- Columella*, observation of, on planting, 47.
- Comedy* of Aristophanes, how far different from that of the moderns, 141, 142—estimate of the comedy of Aristophanes, 142, 143—160, 161.
- Commerce* of the Persians, 75.
- Concilio popolare* at Malta, examination of its pretended authority, 10—12.
- Constantinople*, but little altered from what it anciently was, 165, 166—the Seraglio there, visited by Dr. Clarke, 166, 167.

- Courtship*, curious, of the inhabitants of Syme and Nizyrus, 183.
Cumberland's version of Aristophanes' 'Clouds,' remarkable for its fidelity and elegance, 150.
Cyprus, present deplorable state of, 186, 187.

D.

- Day*. Remark of Bishop Horsley on the word *day*, as used by Moses, 34.
Decoits, or gang robberies in India, account of, 223, 224—*note*.
Density of the earth, excellent calculations for ascertaining, 407—409.
Dino Compagni, character of, 455, 456.
Directors of the East India Company, amount of their patronage, 245, 246—248—probable consequences of transferring it to ministers, considered, 247, 248—suggestions for disposing of the Indian appointments now in their gift, 251, 252.
Djezzar, Pacha of Acre, anecdotes of, 190—192.
Dolomieu, (M.) theory of, on the formation of the isle of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino, 28.
Domeir (*Dr. Wm.*), observations on the climate, manners, and amusements of Malta, 1—character of the work, 2, 3.
Dorat (*M.*), character of his poetry, 115.
D'Oyly (*Rev. G.*) Letters to Sir Wm. Drummond, 329—allegorical design of Sir W. D.'s *Œdipus Judaicus*, 330—specimen of his allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, 331—the Book of Joshua allegorically interpreted of the reformation of the calendar, 332, 333—abuse of astronomical terms, 333, 334.
Dropsies, observations on the causes of, 467—in what manner treated, 468, 469—medicines recommended for, 469, 470—analysis of the dropsical fluid, 471.
Druses, brief account of the, 196.
Drummond (*Sir W.*) allegorically interprets the Scriptures in his *Œdipus Judaicus*, 330—specimen of his mode of interpreting, 331—the Book of Joshua, allegorical of a reformation of the Calendar, 332, 333—borrows his scheme from Dupuis, 333—is angrily vindicated from the strictures of Mr. D'Oyly, by Vindex, 335—reasons for his allegorical interpretations, 336—examination thereof, 337—339—his objections to those passages of the Scriptures which convey an idea of the materiality of the Divine Being, refuted, 339, 340—the extermination of the Canaanite nations reconcileable with the moral justice of God, 340—342—proof that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, 343, 344—remarks on the credulous incredulity of sceptics, 344—346.
Duclos (*Mademoiselle*), anecdotes of, 113.
Dunster (*Mr. J.*), his translation of Aristophanes inferior to Cumberland's, 151.
Dutch Fisheries, the mine of wealth to the United Provinces, 272—number of persons and vessels employed in, *ib.*—their great consequent prosperity, 273, 274—the causes of their success pointed out, 282, 283—indignities to which they are obliged to yield in Japan, 441, 442.

Earth,

E.

Earth, calculations for ascertaining the density of, 407, 409.

East India Company, beneficial effects of its government in India, 225, *et seq.*—constitution of its boards of revenue and trade, 225—qualifications of collectors of its revenues, 225, 226—every transaction of its servants is made a matter of record, 226—admirable judicial system established by the company, 226, *et seq.*—circuit courts, 227—Nizamut Adawlut, 227—the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, or court of appeal, 227—British subjects, in the company's territories, are amenable only to the supreme courts at the presidencies for criminal offences, 228—the goodness of the company's present system admitted, 228—Mr. Grant's reasons for maintaining the present system, 241, 242—examined and refuted, 243, *et seq.*—amount of the patronage enjoyed by the directors of the East India Company, 245, 246—the probable consequences of transferring it to His Majesty's ministers considered, 247, 248—remarks on the company's conduct, on account of renewing their charter, 250—suggestions for disposing of the Indian appointments, 251, 252.

Elauts, (tribe of) account of their hospitality, 65, 66.

Elmsley (Pefri) Euripidis Heraclidæ, 348—observations on the tragedies of Euripides, *ib.*—causes why they were held in general estimation, 349—remarks on his defects, 350—the Heraclidæ one of the most neglected of his tragedies, 351—plan of Mr. Elmsley's edition, 352—extracts from his various readings, with remarks, 353, 366.

Emigrants to America, deplorable condition of, 284, 285.

Encyclopedists, curious quarrel of, with their publisher, 102.

English Fisheries, importance of encouraging. See *Fisheries*.

English Language, necessity of introducing and establishing it in Malta and Gozo, 16, 17.

Entertainments (Persian) described, 79.

Epicurean Philosophy, remarks on, by Paley, 393.

Epistolary style of Mr. Fox, 320, 328—of Mr. Wakefield, 321, 326.

Eton (Wm.) materials for a history of Malta, 1—character of his work, 3.

Euripides, Aristophanes' supposed antipathy to him examined, 146. See *Elmsley*.

Evelyn's (John) Sylva, a discourse of forest trees, 45—planting not regarded by the ancient agriculturists, 47—the civil war gave the first blow to the forests and woods of England, 48—planting encouraged by Charles II. 48—origin and character of Evelyn's work, 48, 49—it gave an impulse to planting, 50—encouragements to planting, longevity, 52—the profit arising from quick growing trees, 53—qualifications of a good planter, 54—Evelyn had a true taste of picturesque beauty, 55—many important plants might probably be obtained from the great southern continent, 56.

F.

Fars (province of) desolated state of.

Fennigle (M.) new Art of Memory founded on his principles, 125—reflexions on artificial helps of the memory, 125, 126—the topical me-

mony of the ancients, 126—M. Feinaigle's system, a method of recalling to the mind certain past trains of ideas by various associations of sight succeeding each other in preconcerted order, and of employing consonants as types of numerals, 127, 128—outline of the first of these two methods, 128, 130—and of the substitution of letters for figures, 130, 131—remark on the execution of the work, 132.

Ferriar (Dr. John) *Essay on Apparitions*, 304—Dr. Johnson's remark on the universal belief in apparitions not true in fact, *ib.*—plan of the work, 305—examination of the assertion that the impressions produced on some of the external senses, especially on the eye, are more durable than the impressing cause, 305, 346—singular instance of supposed apparition in the case of MM. Bezuel and Desfontaines, 307, 308—account of a polypus ghost, from Lucian, 308, 309—nervous attacks may be considered as a solution of the supposed appearance of ghosts, 309, 310—examination of the degree of testimony to be allowed to persons pretending to have seen ghosts, 310, 311—whimsical blunder from coincidence of names, 311, 312.

Fertility of the Holy Land proved, 198.

Fielding's version of Aristophanes inferior to that of Cumberland, 150.

Field sports, Mr. Fox's opinion on, 320, 321.

Fiesole, fabulous history of, 446.

Figs (Maltese), account of, 25.

Fisheries (*British*) *Tracts on*, 265—the British islands peculiarly favourably situated for carrying on fisheries, 265, 266—the high price of provisions a cogent reason for promoting them, 266—natural history of the herring, 267, 268—other esculent fish, 268, 269—mackerel and pilchard fisheries, 269, 270—salmon and oyster fisheries, 270, 271—number of persons and vessels employed in the Dutch fisheries, and their consequent prosperity, 271, 272—different measures proposed at various times for promoting the British fisheries, 273, 282—causes which have hitherto prevented the successful prosecution of the English fisheries, 274, *et seq.*—the poverty of a fisherman's occupation, 274—the exclusive privilege of the London market, and the abuses practised by fish salesmen, 275—iniquitous combination of the Billingsgate salesmen, 276, 277—impediments to the breaking of this combination, 276, 278—uncertainty of the price, 277—difficulty of supplying the markets by water carriage, 278—suggestions for removing these impediments, 279—the establishment of new markets, *ib.*—which, as proved from an experiment, would completely answer, 279, 280—large quantities of fish purchased and sold at reduced prices by the Committee for Relief of the Manufacturing Poor, 280, 281—the removal of the prejudices of the common people necessary, 281—causes of the success of the Dutch fisheries, 282, 283—causes of the Scotch fisheries languishing, 283, *et seq.*—fishing towns established, and other facilities given, 285, 286—the duty on salt recommended to be given up on the Scottish fisheries, 287—beneficial effects of allowing the free use of salt in the Isle of Man, in 1784, 287—proposal for improving the fisheries of Ireland, 288—the Newfoundland fishery on the decline, 289—causes thereof,

290—Mr. Schultes' plan for improving the British fisheries, 290, 291—remark thereon, 292—a more reasonable scheme proposed by an anonymous author, 292—benefits that would probably result from it, 293—the extension of the home fisheries important in a national point of view: it would reduce the price of the necessaries of life, 293—and create a nursery for seamen, 293, 294—the cause of the recent captures by American ships was probably the circumstance of almost every tenth man being a foreigner, 294—the encouragement of the fisheries is almost equally important in a naval point of view, on the recurrence of peace, as during war, 295—as it would furnish employ for great numbers of seamen who would otherwise be destitute, 295, 296—the attention of government incited to our home fisheries, 296—the sovereignty of the seas is the right of Britain, 297—which has been used with moderation, 298—the experiment of a licensed fishery, by foreign nations, tried and failed, 298, 300—a limited fishery tried, without success, 300—opinions of civilians as to the extent of the British seas, 301, 302—the necessity urged of forming a numerous and expert body of fishermen during the war to prevent a rivalry in the fisheries by other nations, 303, 304.

Florentines, simple manners of, in the 13th century, 464, 466.

Fox (Right Hon. Charles James) *Correspondence with Mr. Wakefield*, 313—his high character depreciated by the publication of his *Historical Fragment*, 314—remarks on its spirit and tendency, 314, 315—disappointment of the public on its appearance, 315, 316—character of his epistolary style, 320, 328—letter to Mr. Wakefield on the innocency of field sports, 320, 321—political character of Mr. Fox, 322, 323—his opinion of Cicero, 324—of Ovid, 325—of Apollonius Rhodius, 325, 326—Virgil copied much from Apollonius, 326.

Foote, character of, as a comic writer, 154.

Futteh Ali Khan, the present sovereign of Persia, character of, 62, 63—his numerous issue, 66.

G.

Galilee, present state of, 193.

Gardanne (General) sent by Buonaparte into Persia, 83—the objects of his mission frustrated, 85.

Gargarus (Mount) notice of, 179.

Geoffrin (Madame) anecdotes of, 105, 107.

Georgian women, remarkable beauty of, 78.

Ghosts, Dr. Johnson's remarks on the supposed general belief of ghosts not true in fact, 305. See *Ferriar*.

Giacinto (Padre Carlo) *Saggio di Agricoltura per le Isole di Malta e Gozo*, 1—character of his work, 2. See *Malta*.

God, Bishop Horsley on the will of God concerning man, 32, 33.

Grant (Charles) *on the Expediency of maintaining the Indian System*, 218—defects in the author's style, *ib.*—state of India under the Mahomedan government, particularly of Bengal, 219, 225—improved state of India under the East India Company's government, 225, *et seq.*—See *India*.

Greece (ancient), remark on its general topography, 170, 171—present state of the Greek peasantry, 182.

Grey

Grey (Dr.) *Memoria Technica*, 125—outlines of his plan and its application, 133—136—it may also be usefully extended to commercial and financial details, 137, 138.

Great sandy desert of Persia described, 59.

Grimm (Baron de), Correspondance Littéraire, &c. 90—reflections on the polished state of society in France in the last century, 89—*anecdotes and character of M. de Grimm*, 90, 91—was a decided *petit maître*, 92—*anecdotes of the French philosophers*, 93, 94—of Voltaire, 93, 95—Voltaire appointed temporal father of the capuchins, 95—sits for his statue, 96—severity of his satire, 97—disgraceful anecdote of, *ib.*—curious visit of M. Barthe to Voltaire, 98—Voltaire returns to Paris, 99—remark on his character, 99, 100—character and anecdotes of Rousseau, 100—102—curious *démêlé* between the Encyclopedists and their publisher, 102, 103—observations of M. de Grimm on the supposed advantages of a philosophical age over times of less illumination, 103, 104—*anecdotes of General Clerk*, 105—of Madame Geoffrin, 105—107—of the Marquise du Defland, 108 of the President Henault, 109—of Helvetius, 109, 110—of Marmon-
tel, 110, 111—the English stage suited only to Englishmen, the French to Frenchmen, and why, 111—observations on the French stage, 111, 112—*anecdotes of French actors*, 112—of Le Kain, *ib.* of Mademoiselle Duclos, 113—of Sophie Arnaud, 113—of Mademoiselle Guimard, 114—of Vestris, *ib.*—character of Dorat's poetry, 115—translation of Young's Night Thoughts into French by M. Colardeau, *ib.*—its failure accounted for, 115, 116—mischievous anecdote of Piron, 116.

Guebres persecuted in Persia, 75—prosperously settled in India, *ib.* 76.

Guelph and Gibellin factions, origin of, 457, 458.

Guimard (Mademoiselle), anecdotes of, 114.

Gunnery, important experiments in, to ascertain the expansive force of gunpowder, 413—416.

Gurú Govind, a Sikh chieftain, anecdotes of, 475.

Gurú-matá, or grand council of the Sikhs, account of, 478.

H.

Hafiz, tomb of, visited by the Persians, 80.

Hedges (Sir Charles) opinion of, on the extent of the sovereignty of the British seas, 301, 302.

Hellespont, passage of Dr. Clarke down, 170—Homer's epithet of it, illustrated, *ibid.*

Helvetius, anecdotes of, 109, 110.

Henault (the President), character of, 109.

Herring fishery, observations on, 263.

Hillah, ruins of, 73.

Homer, illustration of, 170.

Horsley (Bishop), sermons of, 30—parallel characters of Bishops Porteus and Horsley, 30, 31—peculiar excellencies of Horsley's and Barrow's sermons, 31, 32—peculiar intrepidity of the Bishop in bringing forward the doctrines of christianity, 32—Bishop Horsley's sermons peculiarly adapted to strong, cultivated minds, 33—*extracts*,

tracts, on the will of God concerning man, 32, 33; on the sense of the word 'day' as used by Moses, 34; on the evil of sabbath-breaking, 34, 35; on the day of judgment, 35; on the true church of God, 36; on the human will, and the necessity of the freedom of human actions, 36, 37—remark on his opinion relative to the vital principle, 38—concluding reflections, 39.

Hunter (Dr. Thomas), character of his edition of Evelyn's *Sylva*, 50, 51, 56—the publication of it revived the spirit of planting, 51.

Hutton (Dr. Charles), *Mathematical and Philosophical Tracts*, 400—enumeration of subjects, 400, 401—new method for the valuation of certain numeral infinite series, 401, 402—complete demonstration of the binomial theorem in the case of fractional exponents, 403—on the geometrical division of circles and ellipses, 403, 404—investigation of an approximate geometrical division of the circle, 404—on the quadrature of the circle, 405—407—excellent calculations for ascertaining the mean density of the earth, 407—409—on the algebra of the Indians, 410—processes for solving Diophantine problems, 411, 412—algebra of the Italians, 412—important experiments in gunnery, and on the expansive force of powder, 413, 416—experiments to determine the resistance of the air as applied to military projectiles, 416, 417—concluding remarks on Dr. Hutton's character as a mathematical writer, 418.

I.

Ida (Mount), simple manners of its peasants, 178, 179.

Ilium (New), ruins of, 174.

India, state of, under the Mahommedan government, 219—the Mogul government a complete despotism, 219, 220—outline of the Mogul system of government, 220—oppression of the landholders by the zemindars, 221—defects of the financial system, *ibid.*—of the judicial system, 222—refinements of the Mahommedan law respecting murder, 222, 223—decoits or gang robbers, 223—have increased under the British government, 224, *note*—state of the country under the East India Company, 225, *et seq.*—constitution of the Boards of revenue and trade, 225—qualifications and duties of collectors of revenue, 225, 226—every transaction in India is made a matter of record, 226—judicial authorities of India, 226—circuit courts, 227—the Nizamut Adawlut, its powers and duties, 227—Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, or court of appeal, *ib.*—British subjects are amenable only to supreme courts for criminal offences, 228—the goodness of the present system admitted to a certain extent, 228, 229—present state and circumstances of the country described, 231, 232—in what manner supported, 232—the arguments against altering the present system refuted, 233, 234—causes of the mutiny at Vellore, 235—arguments which might be urged by a Brahmin on the apprehension of a change in their religious system, 236—240—suggestions as to the manner in which missionaries should be sent out to India, 240, 241—obstacles offered by the East Indian system to the colonization of India, 241, 242—examination and refutation of these obstacles, 243, *et seq.*—present amount of patronage in the possession of the Directors,

245, 246, 248—the consequences of transferring this to ministers considered, 247, 248—remark on the conduct of the East India Company relative to the renewal of their charter, 250—suggestion for disposing of Indian appointments, 251, 252.

Indian algebra, brief account of, 410—412.

Infinite series (numeral), new method for their valuation proposed by Dr. Hutton, 402.

Ireland, proposal for improving the fisheries of, 288, 289.

Ispahan and its public buildings described, 70, 71.

J.

Jaffa, massacre at, by Buonaparte, confirmed, 235.

Japan, Russian embassy to, cajoled, 440.

Jerusalem, present state of, 199—the sepulchre of our Saviour ascertained, 199—202.

Jones (Sir Harford), successful mission of, to Persia, 85.

Jonson (Ben), successfully imitated Aristophanes, 155.

Joshua (Book of), attempt to prove it allegorical of the reformation of the calendar, 322, 323.

Judgment (day of), impressive remark of Bishop Horsley on, 35, 36.

Judicial system (defective), of the Mahommedan government in India, 222—excellent system introduced by the East India Company, 227, 228.

Jurisprudence, defective, of Malta, illustrated, 14.

K.

Kamtschatka, desolate state of, 442—causes thereof, 443.

Khonsar (village), fertility and beautiful appearance of, 69, 70.

Khorasan (province), unsettled state of, 62.

Khosistan (the ancient Susiana), present desolate state of, 67, 68.

Kinneir (James Macdonald), *Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, 57—character of the work, 88, 89. See *Persia*.

Knor (John), character of, 418, 419—examination of his conduct relative to the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, 422—426—his destruction of monastic buildings censured, 427, 428—remarks on the prophetic powers with which some of his admirers have invested him, 431, 432—traits of resemblance between him and Calvin, 432.

Crimea, ancient inhabitants of, 376—little known or frequented for commercial purposes before the 14th century, 377—annexed by the Empress Catherine to her dominions, 375, 377—the soil of the Crimea favourable to the growth of the productions of more southern climates, 377—importance of its ports to Russia, 378, 379.

Krusenstern (Captain), reply to the complaint of, against the Quarterly Reviewer, 434, 435.

L.

Langsdorff (G. H. von), *Voyage round the World*, 433—character of as a voyager, 435—abstract of his sagacious remarks on anthropophagism, 436—438—arrival at Owhyee, 438—improvement of the Sandwich islands in civilisation, 439—fleet of Tomoomah, 439—the Russian embassy to Jeddo cajoled by the Japanese, 440, 441—indig-

indignities to which the Dutch are subjected in Japan, 441, 442—
and imposed on the Russian ambassador, 442—deserted state of
Kamtschatka, 442, 443.

Law (Dr. Bishop of Carlisle), brief character of, 388.

Le Kain, excellence of his acting, 112—anecdotes of, *ib.*

Literature and literary establishments of the Persians, 80.

Longevity the reward of planting, 52.

M.

McCrie (John), *Life of John Knox*, 418—character of the work, 419—
421, 433—account of Knox's conduct respecting the assassination of
Cardinal Beaton, 422—remarks thereon, 422—426—the interfe-
rence of the Scottish aristocracy on great occasions constitutional,
427—Knox's destruction of monastic buildings censured, 427, 428—
the church of Scotland established on presbyterian principles, 428—
remarks on their tendency, 429—the Scottish reformers accomplish-
ed and elegant scholars, 429, 430—character of their pulpit elo-
quence, 430—remarks on the prophetic powers with which Knox's
admirers have invested him, 431, 432—traits of resemblance between
Knox and Calvin, 432—general observation on the characters of
Luther, Calvin, and Knox, 432, 433.

Mackerel fishery, observations on, 269.

Malcolm (Colonel) sent on a successful mission to Persia, 83—sent a se-
cond time, and is frustrated, 85—causes of his success and his failure,
accounted for, *ibid.*

Malcolm (Sir J.) sketch of the Sikhs, 472—account of their worship,
472—and of their founder, Nanac Shah, 473, 474—and of his suc-
cessor Gúru Govind, 475, 476—the Sikhs persecuted by the Ma-
hommedans, 477—their Gúru-matá, or grand council, 478—general
character of the Sikhs, 478, 479.

Malespini's history of Italy, character of, 446—the ground-work of Vil-
lani's, *ib.*

Malta, observations on the natural and political history of, 1, *et seq.*—
state of the Maltese, under the government of the Knights of St.
John, 3—situation of the country, at the peace of Amiens, 4, 5—
mild and wise government of Sir Alexander Ball, 5, 6—causes of
the discontents amongst the Maltese, 7—9—examination of the pre-
tended authority of the *Concilio popolare*, 10—12—necessity urged of
raising a revenue within the island, and of increasing the salaries of
the public functionaries, 13—imperfect state of the Maltese jurispru-
dence, illustrated, 14—two expedients suggested for giving influence
to our government in the islands of Malta and Gozo—first, the estab-
lishment of a militia, 15, 16—secondly, the introduction and estab-
lishment of the English language, 16, 17—as a preliminary step,
the island should be annexed to the empire of Britain, 17, 18—de-
fects of the Maltese character, vengeance, excessive sordidness of
disposition, and overweening conceit, 18—these are counterbalanced
by their chastity, piety, &c. 18—their bravery and fidelity, 19—
puppy broth, a remedy for the disease of the *scanto*, 19, 20—their
dress,

- dress, on the festival of St. Peter, 20—superstition of the Maltese, 21—beautiful situation, and picturesque views afforded by the country, 21, 22—amusements of the Maltese, at La Valletta, 22, 23—museum and its curiosities, 23, 24—vegetable productions, 24, 25—deficient state of agriculture, a reproach to Britain, 26, 27—climate of Malta, 28—M. Dolomieu's theory on the isles of Malta and Gozo, 28, 29.
- Man* (Isle of), its flourishing fishery in 1784, 287—to what cause attributed, *ib.*
- Manfred* (King of Naples) battle between and Charles of Anjou, 447—450—is defeated and slain, 450, 451.
- Manufactures* of the Persians, 74.
- Markets*, the establishment of three new ones, for the sale of fish, necessary for the supply of the metropolis, 279.
- Marmontel*, anecdotes of, 110, 111.
- Marriage settlement* of the Maltese, curious clause in, 20.
- Massacre* at Jaffa, by Buonaparte, confirmation of, 205.
- Meadley* (*William*) *Memoirs of Dr. Paley*, 388—character of the work, 389—of Dr. John Law, 388—anecdotes of the early life and studies of Paley, 390, 391—honourable anecdote of his virtuous conduct at the university, 391, 392—is appointed chaplain to Bishop Law, and Chancellor, &c. of Carlisle, 392—extract of his prize dissertation on the Epicurean philosophy, 392, 393—pulpit style of Paley, 393—reasons why Paley was promoted, late in life, 394, 395—his tranquil death, 396—estimate of his literary character, 396, 397—his excellence as a moral instructor, 398, 399.
- Medical education*, reflections on, 118, 119.
- Memory*, observations on the topical memory of the ancients, 126—reflections on artificial helps for it, 125, 126—outline of M. Feinaigle's plan of artificial memory, 128—131—of Dr. Grey's system, 133—138.
- Military force* of the Persians, probable amount of, 66.
- Militia*, expediency of establishing in Malta, urged, 15, 16.
- Mirza* (*Abbas*,) heir apparent to the Persian throne, amiable character of, 67.
- Missionaries*, in what manner to be sent to India, 240, 241.
- Mogul government in India*, account of, 219, 220—oppression of the landholders, under the zemindars, 221—defective financial system, 221, 222—defects of its judicial system, 222.
- Molière*, successfully imitated Aristophanes, 153.
- Montgalliard* (*M.*) *sur la Puissance Russe*, &c. 366—proofs of the tyranny of Buonaparte over the minds of French writers, 367—important situation of Russia at the present time, 367—exaggerated accounts of Dr. Clarke, disbelieved, 368, 369—traits of resemblance between Britain and Russia, 370—remarks on the gross flattery of M. Montgalliard, 371—his work, an enlarged view of the false position, that Russia and England are the sole causes of the war, 371—chimerical scheme of confining the Russian empire within Siberia, 372—revolutions in the Russian empire, 372, 373—character and projects of Peter the Great, 373—feeble condition of the Turkish empire, 374—exam-

- examination of the importance of the Black Sea, 376, *et seq.*—
ancient inhabitants of the Krimea, 376—the Krimea little known, or
frequented for commercial purposes, before the 14th century, 377—
annexed by Catherine to her dominions, 373—377—the Krimea fa-
vourable for the culture of cotton and silk-worms, 377—relative im-
portance of the ports of Ockzakow, Odessa, and Sebastopol, 378,
379—it is the interest of England to encourage the naval power of
Russia in the Mediterranean, 381, 382—importance of Sweden to the
present alliance, arising from the inability of Russia to maintain a
sufficient military force on more than one frontier at the same time,
383—politics of Russia towards Turkey, 384—her conduct with re-
gard to the partition of Poland considered, 385—nature of the com-
mercial intercourse between England and Russia, 386, 387.
Morier (James) journey into Persia, &c. 57—character of his work,
89.—See Persia.
Mount of Beatitudes, ascertained, 195.
Murder, refinements of the Mahomedan law concerning, 222, 223.
Mutiny at Vellore, causes of, 235.

N.

- Nanac Shah*, founder of the Sikhs, anecdotes of, 473, 474.
Nazareth, present state of, 194.
Newfoundland fishery on the decline, 289—causes thereof, 290
New Ilum, ruins of, 174.
Nosology, improved system of, with remarks, 122, 123.

O.

- Odessa and Ockzakow*, importance of to Russia, 379.
Ottobuoni (Aldobrandino), disinterested conduct of, 465, 466.
Ovid, character of, by Mr. Fox, 325.
Oyster fishery, observations on, 270, 271.

P.

- Palais-Kallifat*, ruins of, 173.
Paley (Dr.) memoirs of, 388—sketch of his early life and studies, 390, 391
—honourable anecdote of his virtuous conduct at the university, 391,
392—is appointed chaplain to Bishop Law, and Chancellor, &c. of Car-
lisle, 292—extract of his prize dissertation on the Epicurean philo-
sophy, 393—remarks on his pulpit style, *ib.*—reasons why Paley was
promoted late in life, 394, 395—his tranquil death, 396—estimate of
his literary character, 396, 397—his excellence as a moral instructor,
397, 398.
Patmos, beautiful appearance of, in the evening, 180.
Patronage of the Directors of the East India Company, amount of, 245,
246, 248—probable consequence of transferring it to his Majesty's
ministers, considered, 247, 248—suggestions for disposing of it, 251,
252.
Paulin (M.) a French actor, anecdotes of, 95.
Peasants of Mount Ida, simple manners of, 178, 179—present state of
the Greek peasantry, 182.
Pentateuch, proof that it was written by Moses, 343, 344.

Persia,

Persia, by what tribe originally inhabited, uncertain, 57—boundaries and extent, 58—description of the Great Sandy Desert, 59, 60—climate, 60—productions, 61—population, *ib.*—state and condition of the people, 62—character of the present sovereign, Futteh Ali Khan, 62, 63—system of internal government, 63, 64—barbarous punishment of the Persian criminal law, 64, 65—hospitality of the Elauts, 65, 66—probable amount of the Persian effective forces, 66—numerous issue of the reigning sovereign, *ib.*—amiable character of the heir apparent, Abbas Mirza, 67—great part of the province of Fars depopulated, 67—Khosistan (the ancient Susiana) once celebrated for its superabundant fertility, now a desert, 68—Irak devastated by the Turcomans, 68, 69—fertility of the province of Aderbajan, 69—description of the village of Khonsar, 69, 70—of Shiraz, 70—of Ispahan, 70, 71—of Tehraun, 71, 72—the ruins of Rae, 72—of Hillah, 72, 73—remains of antiquities, 73—manners, arts, manufactures and amusements of the Persians, 74, 75—oppressed state of the Guebres, or fire worshippers, in Persia, 75—prosperously settled in India, 75, 76—the modern Persians accounted heretics by the Turks and Arabs, 76—are *bons vivans*, *ib.*—character of them by Mr. Kinneir, 76, 77—Persian ideas of female beauty, 77, 78—beauty of the Georgian women, 78—employments of the women in Persia, *ib.*—the Caleoon, or water-pipe, generally used, *ib.*—description of an entertainment given by the governor of Bushire, 79—and by the prime minister at Shiraz, *ib.*—learning of the Persians, 80—tomb of Hafiz, 80, 81—modes of travelling in Persia, 81—Designs of the French Republic on India through Persia, 82—political mission sent by Buonaparte, frustrated by Sir Harford Jones, 84, 85—present situation of Sir Gore Ouseley, in Persia, 86—considerations on the alliance of Persia, 86, 87—the impossibility of a well disciplined invading army keeping possession of Persia, 87, 88.

Peter the Great, character and projects of, 373.

Philosophical age, reflections on its supposed advantage over times of less illumination, 103, 104.

Pilchard fishery, observations on, 269, 270.

Piron, anecdotes of, 117.

Planting not so much regarded by the ancient agriculturists, 47—encouraged by Charles II. 48—impulse given to it, by the publication and re-publication of Evelyn's *Sylva*, 50, 51—encouragements to planting, longevity, &c. 52—and the profit arising from growing trees, 53—qualifications of a good planter, 55—many important plants might be obtained from the great southern continent, 56.

Poetry of Mr. Scott, examination of, 483—486.

Poland. The conduct of Russia in the partition of Poland considered, 385.

Poor, successful experiment in supplying them with fish, 280, 281—the removal of their prejudices against fish, as an article of food, necessary, 281, 282.

Population of Persia, 61.

Porson (Professor) character of, by Mr. Wakefield, 327, 328.

Porteus

- Porteus* (Bishop), parallel between him and Bishop Horsley, 30, 31.
Productions of Persia, 61.
Provisions, the high price of, a cogent reason for encouraging the fisheries, 266.
Publications, List of, 254—498.
Pulpit eloquence of the Scottish reformers, remark on, 430—of the Scottish church and English Dissenters, on the decline, *ib.*
Punishments, barbarous, of the Persian criminal law, 64, 65.
Puppy-broth, a remedy for the disease of the *scanto*, 19, 20.

Q.

- Quadrature* of the circle, observations on, 405—407.
Quarrel, curious, between the French encyclopedists and their publisher, 102.
Quintilian, remarks of, on the topical memory of the ancients, 126.

R.

- Racine*, successfully imitated Aristophanes, 154.
Religion of the Persians, 76.
Rheteium, ruins of, 175.
Rogers (S.) *Poems* of, 207—character of his *Pleasures of Memory*, *ib.*—plan of his *Fragment of a Poem on the voyage of Columbus*, 208—211—defects in its style and execution, 212, 213—extracts with remarks, 214—217.
Roussseau (Jean Jacques) anecdotes of, 100, 102.
Ruins of Rae, the capital of Persia, in the reign of Alp-Arslan, notice of, 72—of Hillah, supposed to be on the site of the ancient Babylon, 72, 73—of Palaio-Kallifat, 173—of New Ilium, 174—of Rheteium, 175—of Telmessus, 184—of St. Andrew's church, at Acre, 192—at Sepphoury, 193.
Russia, importance of, at the present time, 367—Dr. Clarke's exaggerated accounts concerning the Russians disbelieved, 368, 369—traits of resemblance between Britain and Russia, 370—chimerical scheme for confining the Russian empire within Siberia, 372—principal revolutions of its history, 372, 373—character and projects of Peter the Great, 373—importance of the Black Sea to Russia, 376, 379—it is the interest of England to encourage the naval power of Russia in the Mediterranean, 381—view of the politics of Russia towards Turkey, 384—her conduct with regard to the partition of Poland, considered, 385—nature of the commercial intercourse between Britain and Russia, 386—the Russian embassy to Japan, cajoled, 440—indignities imposed on it, 442.

S.

- Sabbath-breaking*, lively portrait of, by Bishop Horsley, 34, 35.
Salmon fishery, observations on, 270.
Salt, beneficial effects of its free use in the isle of Man, 217—the abandonment of the duty on salt in Scotland recommended, as an encouragement of the fisheries, 287.
Sandwich Islanders, improvement of, in civilization, 439.

- Scanto* (a Maltese disorder), curious remedy for, 19, 20.
Sceptics, remarks on the credulous incredulity of, 344, 346.
Schultes (Henry), *dissertation on the public fisheries of Great Britain*, 265—his scheme for improving the British fisheries, 290, 291—remarks thereon, 292.
Scotch fisheries, causes of their languishing, 283, 284—fishing towns established in Scotland, and other facilities given, 285, 286—the duty on salt recommended to be given up, 287.
Scottish Reformers were accomplished and elegant scholars, 429, 430—remarks on their pulpit eloquence, 430.
Scotland, (church of) regulated on Presbyterian principles, 428—remarks on their tendency, 429.
Scott, (Walter) remarks on the style and character of his poetry, 483, 486.
Seas, the sovereignty of the, is the peculiar right of Britain, 297—which has ever been used with moderation, 298—opinions of civilians thereon, 301, 302.
Sebastopol, importance of, as a port, to Russia, 379.
Sepphoury, ruins of, 193.
Sepulchres of Telmessus, 184—the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, ascertained, 199, 202.
Seraglio, of the Grand Seignor, visited by Dr. Clarke, 166, 167.
Shiraz, city of, described, 70.
Sikhs, account of their worship, 472— anecdotes of their founder Nanac Shah, 473, 474—and of his successor Gúrú Govind, 475—the Sikhs persecuted by the Mahomedans, 477—their Gúrú-matá, or Grand Council, 478—general character of the Sikhs, 478, 479.
Simois (River) probable course of, ascertained, 176, 178.
Society, reflections on the state of, in France, in the last century, 89.
Socrates, Aristophanes' supposed antipathy to him, examined and refuted, 145, 146—comparison between him and Dr. Paley, as moral instructors, 399, 400.
Sovereignty of the seas, is the peculiar right of Britain, 297—which has ever been exercised with moderation, 298—opinions on its extent, 301—opinion of Sir Charles Hedges, 301, 302—idea of James I. thereon, 302.
Stage, (Maltese) account of, 22—the English stage suited only to the English, and the French, to the French, 111— anecdotes of the French stage and its performers, 112, 115.
Superstition of the Maltese, 21—singular instance of superstition blended with revenge, *ib*.
Susiana, ancient fertility of, 68—now a desolate waste, *ib*.

T.

- Taste*, national, observations on, 111.
Tehraun (city) described, 71, 72.
Telmessus, sepulchral caves of, 184.
Tiberias, hot baths of, still frequented, 196.
Tomoomah, a chief of the Sandwich islands, fleet of, 439.

Travelling

- Travelling in Persia*, how conducted, 81.
Troad, discoveries in, by Dr. Clarke, 173.
Turcomans, inroads of, into Persia, 68, 69.
Turkish Empire, remark on the imbecility of, 374—view of the politics of Russia towards Turkey, 385.

V.

- Valetta*, beauty of its harbour and surrounding country, 21—amusements of its inhabitants, 22, 23—museum, 23, 24.
Vellore, causes of the mutiny at, 235.
Vestris, anecdotes of, 114, 115.
Villani (Giovanni) Istorie Fiorentine, 444—object of the 'Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani,' 445—character of Malespini's History, 446—the groundwork of Villani's, 446—curious fable on the origin of Fiesole, 446—account of a great battle fought near Benevento, between Manfred, king of Naples, and Charles of Anjou, 447, 451—character of Charles, 452—his conduct towards Conradin, justly censured, 453—his fleet destroyed, and himself a fugitive, 454—similarity between him and Buonaparte in his flight from Mosco, 454—his death, *ib.*—account of Villani, 456—origin of his history, 457—and of the factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines, 457, 458, 461—fills various offices of state, 458—character of Castruccio, 459, 460—comparative merits of Giovanni and Mattéo Villani, 462—simplicity of manners of the Florentines in the 13th century, 464—Arezzo treacherously betrayed by the Guelphs, 465—noble anecdote of Aldobrandino Ottobuoni, 465.
Virgil copied much from Apollonius Rhodius, 326.
Vital principle, observations on Bishop Horsley's remark on, 38.
Voltaire, anecdotes of, 93, *et seq.*—appointed temporal father of the capuchins, 95—letter of, to the Marechal de Richelieu, on that occasion, *ib.*—interview of Pigalle, to take his model, 95—reflection on his opposition to the *Système de la Nature*, 96—discreditable anecdote of, 97—curious interview of Voltaire with the Abbé Coyer and M. Barthe, 98—returns to Paris, 99—his apprehensions that the foundations of society were about to be overthrown, 99—vanity, the spring of all his actions, 99, 100.

W.

- Wakefield (Gilbert) correspondence* with Mr. Fox, 313—reflections on the injustice of publishing every fragment that may have been left by a man of eminence in literature or politics, 313, 314—literary character of Mr. Wakefield, 318—his moral character, 319—Mr. Wakefield's letters spoiled by the introduction of political allusions, 321—character of his epistolary style, 326—his able character of Professor Porson, 327.
Will of God concerning man, observation of Bishop Horsley on, 32, 33—and on the freedom of the human will, 36, 37.

X.

- Xanthus (River)*, probable course of, ascertained, 176, 178.

Young's

Y.

Young's Night Thoughts, unsuccessfully attempted to be translated into French, 115.

Young (Dr. Thomas), Introduction to Medical Literature, 117—plan of the work, 117, 118—reflections on medical education, 118, 119—divisions of the work, 120, 121—improved system of nosology, with remarks, 122, 123—accurate distinction between pus and mucus, 124.

END OF VOL. IX.

Peer

v
c
o
p
y
e
d
a
t
a
sh
ca

y
o
o
ct
a
t
a
sh
ca